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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 14, September 1982

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30 December 1982

## USSR REPORT

### TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 14, September 1982

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 82 pp 3-6

[CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improving the System for Upgrading the Skill of Social Science Teachers in Higher Educational Institutions"]

[Text] The decree points out that the Soviet higher school has today a significant detachment of highly skilled cadres of social science teachers. The training and skills of the social scientists are being systematically upgraded. A system of comprehensive enhancement of the skills of teaching cadres has been organized in all VUZs. Furthermore, in recent years, by decision of the CPSU Central Committee, special institutes were created for the systematic retraining of social scientists. Practical experience has indicated that their creation was entirely justified. They greatly assist the teachers in their theoretical growth and in mastering scientific teaching methods. The VUZ social scientists are as a whole successfully resolving problems of the Marxist-Leninist education and communist upbringing of the student youth and are doing considerable scientific research.

However, the CPSU Central Committee also believes that the organization and content of the retraining of social scientist cadres under contemporary conditions demands significant improvements. The USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education has failed to show the necessary concern for the establishment and strengthening of institutes for upgrading such skills as the support centers for progressive experience in the higher school in the teaching of the social sciences. Major shortcomings exist in planning student enrollment. No differentiated approach has been established to the various categories of teachers based on their experience and scientific qualifications. The established procedure according to which every teacher must take a retraining course once every 5 years is violated.

Passive forms of work are noted in the training process of many institutes; seminars take place without the necessary activeness on the part of the students and the critical discussion of the material. Many institutes do not include the extensive familiarization of the teachers with modern production and the activities of labor collectives and party organizations on the communist education of the working people and the mastering of active skills in organizational-political work. The material facilities in some institutes do not make it possible to conduct the training process on a contemporary level and normal housing conditions have not been provided.

Some local party organs have lessened their attention toward work with social science cadres and have still not achieved the efficient utilization of the various methods for steadily upgrading the qualifications of social scientists.

The decree emphasizes that the systematic upgrading of the skills of social science teachers must be subordinated for the successful implementation of their main task--to present the ideological wealth and invincible power of the revolutionary doctrine, and the tremendous creative contribution made to its development by the CPSU and the CPSU Central Committee, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, on a high theoretical level and clearly and convincingly. A Marxist-Leninist outlook and the ability to make practical use of sociopolitical knowledge must be developed in the students. They must be raised as active fighters for communist ideals and for the further strengthening of the political, economic and defense power of the USSR, in a spirit of fraternal friendship among the peoples of our country and as internationalists and patriots intolerant of hostile ideology.

The decree stipulates that we must further upgrade the efficiency of scientific research conducted by social scientists in the higher schools.

The USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education was asked to implement specific measures for the development of skill upgrading institutions as training-methodical centers of the higher school in improving the teaching of Marxist-Leninist science and communist upbringing. The efforts of the institutes' collectives must be focused on resolving the following basic problems:

Intensifying the theoretical knowledge of the teachers in accordance with the achievements of contemporary Marxist thinking and the requirement of engaging in scientifically argumentative criticism of anticommunism and revisionism;

Upgrading the pedagogical skills and improving agitation-propaganda and organizational work skills of the teachers;

Summing up and disseminating the progressive practical experience of the chairs, elaborating scientific methods for lecture and seminar classes, and writing training-method publications for the social science chairs in the country's VUZs.

It was deemed necessary to upgrade qualifications in the course of the training process in the institutes and to pay particular attention to the profound study by the students of the prime sources of the theory of scientific communism and the mastery of the method of teaching Marxism-Leninism as an integral doctrine and the elaboration of contemporary problems of social development in the spirit of the resolutions of the 26th party congress and the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee plenum. To this effect new curriculae on CPSU history, philosophy, political economy and scientific communism must be reviewed and introduced.

Close ties must be established between the study of theoretical problems and the practice of communist construction. The participation of students

attending institutes for upgrading skills in the work of party, soviet, state and economic organs and their extensive exposure to the activities of labor collectives and party organizations must be contemplated.

The CPSU Central Committee has made it incumbent upon the directors of institutes for upgrading the skills of social science teachers to ensure, together with the local party organs, the personal selection of lecturers. Scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences and the academies of sciences of union republics, major economic specialists and leading personnel in party, soviet and economic organs must be asked to participate more actively in the retraining of VUZ social scientists.

The content of the training process through the achievements of science and social practice must be improved steadily; its organization must be perfected and active ways and means of training must be developed. Particular attention must be paid to developing in the young teachers high professional qualities. The scientific growth of teachers without scientific degrees must be assisted; they must be helped to reach their candidate minimum and to complete their candidate and doctoral dissertations and other scientific works.

The decree points out that the rectorates and the party committees of universities in which institutes for skill upgrading have been organized must create the necessary conditions for their successful operation. The director of such an institute must also be the prorector of the university.

The USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and the USSR State Committee for Publishing must efficiently help the institutes to upgrade the skill of social science teachers by regularly publishing the best lectures and scientific-methodical articles on topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of communist construction in journals, scientific works and notes. The role of the VUZ journals FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI, EKONOMICHSKIYE NAUKI, NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM and VESTNIK VYSSHEY SHKOLY must be enhanced in summing up and popularizing the experience of social science chairs.

The decree makes it incumbent upon the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and the councils of ministers of the RSFSR and the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Uzbek and Kazakh SSRs, together with the trade union organs, to take steps to strengthen the training-material base of skill upgrading institutes and to improve the housing, public catering, medical and cultural services to teachers attending retraining courses.

The decree recommends to the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, together with the local party organs, to streamline the system of steadily upgrading the skills of social science teachers on all levels, making efficient use of the entire variety of methods for their ideological training and theoretical growth. They must improve long-term planning in this area and supply it with scientific-methodical guidance in the different areas through the respective institutes for upgrading skills and the rector councils.

The VUZ rector and party committees must strengthen the role of scientific research and methodical work of the chairs in upgrading the skills of social science teachers. A creative atmosphere, an atmosphere of high reciprocal exigency and active work aimed at improving the quality of lectures and seminars must be developed among the chair faculties.

The decree emphasizes that the central committees of communist parties of union republics and the party kraykoms, obkoms and gorkoms must strengthen the party's guidance of the work with cadres in social science chairs. They must help the VUZs and provide steady supervision over upgrading the skills of teachers and enhancing their ideological-political and theoretical standards.

The party organizations have been asked to make more active use of social science teachers in training ideologically tempered young specialists loyal to the party cause. Social science teachers must be extensively recruited as lecturers and propagandists in explaining to the working people CPSU domestic and foreign policy.

Bearing in mind that the current social science textbooks for VUZs must be substantially updated in accordance with contemporary requirements, the writing of new textbooks on philosophy, political economy and scientific communism was deemed necessary.

The USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education was instructed to study the matter and to formulate specific measures to streamline the training of social scientists in universities and the assignment and use of young specialists fully inconsistent with the long-term needs of the higher schools, without allowing disproportions in training cadres in the individual fields.

The purposeful and systematic training of candidates and doctors of sciences for VUZs short of highly skilled social science cadres must be ensured by assigning to such educational institutions teachers as postgraduate students and as scientific associates in the leading universities in the country. The staffing of the chairs with professors and docents must be made on a more equal basis.

It was deemed expedient to train as social science teachers as a rule individuals with labor and practical experience, who have proved themselves in social life, primarily CPSU members and candidate members, as well as Komsomol activists showing an interest in the study of sociopolitical sciences.

The CPSU Central Committee decree expresses the confidence that the social science teachers will do everything possible to share with the student youth their profound knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and party convictions and zeal and will set for them high examples of loyalty to the party and communist cause.

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## LOYALTY TO INTERNATIONALIST DUTY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 82 pp 7-18

[Text] Time is recording in the chronicle of international life events of different political significance and consequences and scale and duration of impact on the situation in the world, internal stress and external sensations. However, in their kaleidoscopic alternation, the dynamism of international change and the complex and larger contradictory social dynamics steadily manifest their own logic and patterns. The main content of global policy and its essence are determined, in the final account, by profound socioeconomic and political processes and by the decisive impact on the course of the historical development of mankind of the three basic revolutionary currents of our time, the struggle between labor and capital, world socialism and world capitalism, and the forces of progress and of imperialist reaction.

Our homeland and Soviet people have been assigned the difficult and responsible mission of being the pioneers of historical progress and the bulwark of the entire international revolutionary, including national liberation, movement. From the very first day of its existence, standing on the front line of the battle against aggressive imperialist forces, the Soviet state has been implementing this great mission sacredly, steadfastly and consistently.

The great Marxist principle of proletarian internationalism, which combines within a single entity tasks of national and international nature and the interests of the struggle of the proletariat in one country or another with the lofty ideals of the global revolutionary movement, is the great Marxist principle of proletarian internationalism. This principled approach, which is the invariable foundation of the foreign policy course of the state of the Great October Revolution, defines its attitude toward all basic international problems--war and peace, active and decisive counteraction to imperialist aggression, elimination of the threat of nuclear war, comprehensive support of the fighters against imperialism and colonialism and against all forms of exploitation and oppression and for freedom, human dignity, democracy, socialism and unification of anti-imperialist and democratic and progressive forces. Our country sees its international duty as the implementation of this course imbued with the ideas of proletarian internationalism, great concern for peace and the fate of civilization and a spirit of profound solidarity with all working people on earth.

To us this duty embodies the high purpose, recognition and historical class role and collective responsibility with all revolutionary forces for the reorganization of life on the foundations of justice, equality, fraternal solidarity and cooperation among the peoples, and for the cause of the national and social liberation of mankind. The principles of international solidarity are not a temporary tactical means or the result of circumstantial geopolitical considerations. They are organically inherent in the very nature of Soviet society--the selfless friend and defender of the working people, and the inflexible opponent of the imperialist policy of aggression and exploitation. They have a socioclass foundation and naturally stem from the objectives and ideals of the international working class. Internationalism and a feeling of fraternal solidarity are inseparable features of the way of life of the Soviet people who consider close and understandable the aspirations and thoughts of the working people the world over and hate the very idea of oppression, domination and coercion.

The history of the Soviet state includes many glorious pages confirming outstanding examples of revolutionary internationalism. This includes solidarity between the young Soviet republic with the rebellious proletariat of Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria and Austria. It includes the great epic of fraternal solidarity with republican Spain. It includes the active political and economic and, if so requested, military, aid which has been and is being given to peoples fighting for their liberation.

The unparalleled exploit of the Soviet people and their great armed forces in the Great Patriotic War and the importance of their universal-historical victories over the darkest forces of global reaction--a victory achieved at the cost of millions of lives of Soviet people--which rescued the world from fascist barbarism and slavery and opened to many nations the path to national independence and social progress will not fade through the centuries.

At the same time, the Soviet people never forget the examples of international solidarity displayed in the stormy days which followed the victory of the October Revolution on the part of our class brothers abroad. Their minds and hearts realized the permanent significance of the October Revolution and helped as much as they could the peoples of revolutionary Russia to defend their gains through direct participation by representatives of the global proletariat in the civil war and mass actions under the slogan "Hands off, Soviet Russia!"

The principled position taken by the USSR in the struggle for the revolutionary reorganization and renovation of the world, based on concern for the interests of the working people, made our country the center of attraction and the bulwark of all detachments of the anti-imperialist movement, including that of national liberation. Today, when the land of the soviets is approaching its great anniversary--the 60th anniversary of the founding of the united multinational state of workers and peasants--this fact is written and discussed throughout the world. "The founding and successful development of the USSR," emphasizes the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," "is of permanent international significance. It marks an important historical landmark in the age-old struggle of progressive mankind for equality and

friendship among nations and for the revolutionary renovation of the world." It is from this noteworthy landmark that we can clearly see the tremendous historical role of the USSR and the example it has given in the development of global socialism and the entire international liberation movement. Our country has made a truly invaluable contribution to the enhancement and the future and definitive triumph of the cause of the national and social emancipation of the peoples of former colonies and semicolonies.

It would be no exaggeration to say that effective proletarian internationalism and the broadening of its framework were among the most characteristic features of the age which began with the Great October Revolution. They provided a powerful incentive to the development of the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples. The October Revolution in Russia, says Indira Gandhi, Indian prime minister, "was a turning point in the history of mankind,... marking the beginning of a new era which opened wide opportunities to the poorest and most neglected countries and nations."

It is entirely natural that the state which was the first in the history of mankind to make a radical social change and take the vanguard of the global revolutionary process, to act as a zealous supporter of forces fighting for national and social liberation. In its very first legislative act--the Decree on Peace--which was the basic manifesto of Soviet foreign policy, the land of the soviets acted in the international arena as a passionate defender of peace and the international fraternity and friendship among nations. The ideas of solidarity with the fighters against colonial oppression were concretized by the Soviet government in the appeal "To All Toiling Muslims of Russia and the East," signed by V. I. Lenin. Having solemnly proclaimed its intention to build its relations with the oppressed nations on the basis of true equality, Soviet Russia also expressed its readiness to give them fraternal aid in their liberation struggle.

Already during those difficult years the land of the soviets proved its loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism in action. Despite all difficulties and privations, unhesitatingly it extended the hand of solidarity and aid to the peoples of colonial and semicolonial countries who had a reason to participate in the struggle for national independence. The support of Soviet Russia helped the Mongolian people to expel the interventionists, to create their sovereign state and to lay the foundations for social development, bypassing capitalism. Our aid to Afghanistan helped it to withstand in its clash with the British colonizers; it played a substantial role in strengthening the national independence of China and Turkey and helped Iran to take important steps to surmount its semicolonial dependence.

It was deeply symbolic that it was precisely Iran, Afghanistan, China and Turkey that were among the countries with which the young Soviet state concluded its first international agreements, basing them on radically new principles of international law, previously unheard-of yet inherent in socialism, involving equality, self-determination, respect for sovereignty, nonintervention in domestic affairs and peaceful coexistence.

"Our foreign policy remains diametrically opposed to the Eastern policy of the imperialist countries. Our Eastern policy aspires toward the autonomous



economic and political development of the Eastern nations and will support them in this in all possible ways. We consider it our role and vocation to be the natural and selfless friends and allies of peoples fighting for their total independent economic and political development." It was thus that in 1922 G. V. Chicherin, the people's commissar of foreign affairs of the young Soviet state, based on Lenin's instructions, formulated the objectives of our policy toward foreign oriental countries.

As they look at the distance they have covered, the CPSU and the Soviet people can proudly say that Lenin's instructions have been firmly implemented. Guided by them, the land of the soviets has been sacredly fulfilling the noble mission of being a bulwark of peace and social progress. It considers the forces of national liberation its natural allies in the struggle against imperialism and for the better future of mankind. Lenin's prophetic words to the effect that "the socialist revolution will not be mainly a struggle waged by the revolutionary proletariat in each country against its bourgeoisie but a struggle waged by all colonies and countries, all dependent countries, oppressed by imperialism against international imperialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 39, p 327).

Life not merely confirmed the perspicacity of this prediction but greatly increased its social significance. It proved in practical terms the exceptional accuracy with which the brilliant strategist of the revolution defined the further ways and means of development of the national liberation movement as one of the currents in the universal anti-imperialist struggle and an inseparable part of the global revolutionary process, pointing out the general future of this movement--the growth of the struggle for national independence into a struggle against the entire system of exploiting relations.

Today Lenin's ideas are accepted as entirely natural, as self-evident. At that time, however, one needed the tremendous outlook and exceptional perspicacity of the leader of the proletarian revolution to understand and identify the tremendous revolutionary potential contained in the protest of the oppressed peoples and to see in the hundreds of millions of people suppressed by colonial tyranny the fearless and dedicated fighters who were to victoriously storm the seemingly impregnable colonial bastions of imperialism. As early as 1904, J. Chamberlain, one of the pillars of British colonialism, arrogantly and self-sufficiently proclaimed in the House of Commons that "the day of the small nations is long past. The day of empires has arrived." However, history allocated one short century to the "day of empires," less than the lifespan of a single generation. Today the very concept of "colonial empire" has become an anachronism, along with dozens or hundreds of names which the colonizers gave to the political map of Asia and Africa, which has acquired an entirely new content and has left untouched only the outlines of the continents. The colonial prison crumbled, marking the most profound change in the development of all mankind. In the course of exceptionally difficult and dedicated struggle the peoples of the colonies and semicolonies used the new historical circumstances created thanks to the victories and successes of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity and the world communist and worker movements to gain their long-awaited freedom and national independence.

The close relationship between the historical victories of real socialism and the achievements in the area of national liberation not only predetermined the inevitable breakdown of colonialism but created favorable international conditions for the conversion of a number of liberated countries to the path of accelerated social progress, opening new horizons for them and the possibility of taking a socialist direction. Today one cannot imagine the political map of the world without the large group of young independent countries which have undertaken the reorganization of society on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism and have taken the path of socialist change. Their number has increased of late. This is a manifestation of the revolutionizing sociopolitical influence of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism on the processes in the national liberation zone and the influence of the Soviet Union and the socialist comity, who are inspiring the liberated peoples with their internationalist experience and example.

As stated in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," "the young states, above all those which have chosen a socialist orientation, show a great interest in the Soviet experience in national-state construction and the transition of a number of peoples in the USSR to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development." The socialist choice made by these countries is a clear manifestation of the continuing process of historical discrediting of capitalism as a social system and a reflection of the sentence passed by history on the old system which is not only unable but unwilling to help the peoples of the former colonial countries to resolve the basic problems facing them and to ensure their effective development and meet their basic rights and needs.

"Our party," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "has always proceeded from its firm support of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and all forms of colonialism. As our party's program stipulates, the CPSU considers the fraternal alliance with the peoples which have rejected the colonial and semicolonial yoke, one of the cornerstones of its international policy."

Based on the scientific analysis of the development of the contemporary national liberation movement and considering problems related to the fate of the liberated countries in the broad perspective of the class struggle in the international arena, the CPSU and the other fraternal parties in the socialist comity clearly define the corresponding tasks in their foreign policy activities and implement them purposefully and systematically. The main directions in such activities are expressed in defending the cause of peace, decisively rebuffing the policy of imperialist aggression, struggling for the elimination of hotbeds of war and tension, providing comprehensive support to the peoples still under colonial and racist oppression and comprehensively assisting the process of decolonizing in the realm of international politics and global economic relations. Support of the struggle waged by the peoples for national liberation and social progress is one of our foreign policy principles codified in the USSR Constitution.

There is nothing amazing in the fact that the numerous documents on the results of the proceedings of the various international meetings, talks and

encounters among leaders of the Soviet Union and the liberated countries in recent decades convincingly proved the increased closeness or coincidence of their positions and viewpoints regarding basic topical problems of bilateral relations and global politics. In recent years qualitatively new forms of communication and interaction between the USSR and a number of liberated countries have been developed further, some of them on the basis of long-term friendship and cooperation treaties which enrich and enhance to a higher level friendly relations and close cooperation between them in the political, economic and cultural areas. Entirely based on the reciprocal respect for the principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference in reciprocal internal affairs, equality and mutual advantages, these treaties are an effective instrument for coordinating the efforts of our countries and the steps they take in the international arena in the defense of peace and security on earth. Their entire essence is directed against the common enemy--imperialism, with its aggressive policy. They serve the truly humane objective of rescuing mankind from national and social oppression.

Soviet-Indian cooperation plays a major role in relations between the USSR and the liberated countries. The entire practice of our relations, codified with the Peace, Friendship and Cooperation Treaty, are a live witness of the fruitfulness of good neighborly relations between the Soviet Union and India and an important factor in ensuring peace in Asia and throughout the world. The historical visit which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev paid to India in December 1980 was a tremendous contribution to their further development. The recent trip to the USSR by I. Gandhi was an important page in the chronicle of friendly relations between the two countries.

The recognized contribution of the Soviet Union to the national-liberation movement is that in recent decades it has originated virtually all most important international initiatives related to decolonizing. After World War II, the USSR raised on an international scale the question of the total elimination of colonialism as an urgent problem of our time and, despite imperialist opposition, was able to make the United Nations adopt documents which codified progressive international legal principles regarding the national liberation struggle.

The formulation by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev of a broad and specific complex of practical rules, norms and principles to guide countries in their relations with the young independent states was a major contribution made by our country to the struggle waged by the liberated countries for improving and democratizing the system of international relations, ascribing it a universal nature and reorganizing it on the foundations of just and total equality. This erects a legal and a moral-political barrier in the way of those who are trying to dictate to others "rules of behavior" based on the perpetuation of imperialist plunder.

All postwar history is literally saturated with examples of the constructive role played by the Soviet Union and its internationalist policy. The effective political, economic, moral and military aid provided by our country, to whom history assigned the main role in repelling imperialist

encroachments today, has frequently helped the peoples of the liberated countries to block aggression and to paralyze and doom to failure the adventures of the colonizers who have encroached on their independence and freedom.

Firmly and undeviatingly implementing its international duty, at all stages in the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people for the liberation of their homeland they received from the Soviet Union comprehensive aid with the help of which they successfully repelled the aggression of the greatest power in the capitalist world. With the support of the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity, revolutionary Cuba courageously withstood the blockade, pressure and blackmail of American imperialism. "In this battle for our sovereignty and in our constant efforts to ensure the development of the socialist economy, we were steadily helped by the fraternal internationalist aid of the Soviet Union, its people and its party members. That is why today, at the 26th CPSU Congress, we want to proclaim once again our feeling of eternal gratitude. Furthermore, we are grateful not only for what was done for us but for what this great country and its great people have done for all mankind," Comrade F. Castro said.

The support of the socialist comity inaugurated a new era in the life of the Lao people as well, who took the path of laying the foundations of socialism, and contributed to the victory of the Kampuchean people who rejected the yoke of the bloody puppets with the fraternal help of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Of late the internationalist nature of Soviet foreign policy has been clearly manifested also toward neighboring Afghanistan. When the April revolution in that country was threatened, on the urgent request of the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan our country temporarily introduced in it limited military forces to help the Afghan people in defending its revolutionary gains against the forces of internal and domestic reaction which had mounted an undeclared war against the country's patriotic forces. In assessing the significance of the internationalist support given by the Soviet Union to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Comrade B. Karmal pointed out that "the Leninist policy of the Soviet Union toward Afghanistan is an outstanding lofty example of proletarian internationalism in action."

In the critical days of Angolan independence, when the South African racists with their accomplices organized an intervention against the recently created republic, the Soviet Union, Cuba and the other socialist countries gave it political, economic and military assistance. With equal firmness the same countries took the side of revolutionary Ethiopia, which was subjected to aggression on the part of the Somali nationalistic regime, supported by imperialism, and, on the request of the Ethiopian government, supplied it with the necessary military and economic assistance. The stern warning issued by the Soviet Union played an important role in motivating the American administration to abandon its attempts to organize an armed intervention in Iran with a view to supporting the supporters of the overthrown proimperialist monarchic regime.

Imperialism was unable to avoid defeats in Central America as well. The revolution in Nicaragua broke up the neocolonialist order which American monopolies had established in the country. The liberation struggle of the patriots of El Salvador and popular actions in Guatemala and many other countries provide new proofs of the steady upsurge of the revolutionary movement in Latin America.

The influential force represented by the nonaligned movement, in which dozens of young countries participate and which is making a major positive contribution to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism and for peace and international security, has considerably energized its activities and increased its role in global affairs in recent years. The fact that this movement is gaining increasing importance and prestige and is exerting a growing influence on the course of global politics is, unquestionably, also a reflection of the effectiveness of the foreign policy activities of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist comity, whose principled positions were and remain their international support of the anti-imperialist trend of the nonaligned movement and the development of friendship and cooperation with its members, who are one of the important links in the common front of the struggle waged by the peoples for peace and freedom.

In recent decades imperialism has been restrained not only politically but economically as well. The hopes of monopoly capital to the effect that the process of elimination of colonial domination may be reduced to superficial changes of a political nature, leaving untouched the system and mechanism of economic exploitation of former colonial countries, were not justified. Starting with the middle of the last decade, these countries resorted to active collective efforts by raising the question of a new international economic order.

The Soviet Union invariably supports the just demands of the young countries on the reorganization of international economic relations. It is making a constructive contribution to the implementation of the positive objectives and tasks of international development strategy in the 1980s as approved by the 35th UN General Assembly Session. This course, which is consistent with the interests of the liberated countries and which helps them in their struggle for the elimination of the unequal and discriminatory system prevailing in global economic relations, was supported and developed at the 26th CPSU Congress.

The contribution of the Soviet Union consists both of the creation of favorable international political conditions for the implementation of the efforts of the liberated countries in the area of reorganization of global economic relations as well as its contribution to the accelerated development of these countries in the course of mutually profitable economic and scientific and technical cooperation with the socialist states. The very fact of the abolishment of the imperialist monopoly in the field of economic and scientific and technical relations and the establishment of qualitatively new principles of global economic relations as a whole, is an outstanding historical accomplishment of this policy.

Today 65 Asian, African and Latin American countries have signed agreements for economic and technical cooperation with the Soviet Union on the basis of intergovernmental accords. On their basis about 1,200 industrial enterprises and other projects are under construction or will be built. Of these 680 have already been completed. They include huge projects such as a metallurgical plant in Bhilai and the Aswan Hydraulic Power Complex, which have become unfading symbols of our fruitful cooperation with the liberated countries.

Typically, the aid of the Soviet Union is focused mainly on cooperation in the development of an effective national economic base. It is concentrated in the key economic sectors which lay solid foundations for the economic independence of these countries. About 80 percent of the funds go to the development of their production sphere. To the extent of its possibilities our country is assisting many liberated countries in training cadres of engineers, technicians, skilled workers, physicians and teachers. Thus, with the help of the Soviet Union, about 250 schools are under construction in these countries, 150 of which are already in operation.

It would be erroneous to assume that the development of the national liberation movement over the past decade has always advanced and that its successes were achieved while the forces of imperialism and reaction remained either neutral or passive. The facts prove that these forces continue fiercely to oppose and use most refined means for the suppression of the liberation struggle of the peoples. The role of the military factor is growing in the imperialist policy toward the liberated countries and it is showing a greater tendency to turn back by force historical progress, as is clearly confirmed, among others, by the dangerous events in the Middle East. Practically every step taken by the national revolutions today encounters economic, military or military-political opposition.

At the beginning of the 1980s the world faced the fierce frontal concentrated pressure of antisocialist, extremist and aggressive forces headed by American imperialism, which tried to change the course of global developments, to turn the international community back to the cold war and to intensify the arms race. Aimed against the countries of real socialism, this pressure was also aimed against all revolutionary and progressive forces, including the national liberation movement.

The most aggressive representatives of imperialism, American above all, who are unwilling to acknowledge the objectively irreversible nature of the essentially revolutionary changes in the national liberation zone, are trying to restore the old order in that area. Their strategists quite frankly rely on naked power, adventurism, militarization, the creation of new hotbeds of military danger, and the desire to destabilize progressive regimes, above all in countries with a socialist orientation. By promoting "hot" wars and conflicts on national and religious grounds, and by trying to set the liberated countries on each other, imperialism would not only like to draw the attention of the peoples away from the struggle for their vital interests but to use the clashes between them for its own selfish purposes and for the restoration or consolidation of its positions, to stimulate in them militaristic trends and to impose on the liberated countries an arms race which

would exhaust their already modest resources and would be an additional channel for plundering them. We also see the components of power pressure, the "show of muscle." For example, the United States is intensively engaged in developing a network of military bases in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. It is setting up its strong points in Oman, Kenya, Egypt and Somali, thus preparing militaristic bridgeheads for its interventionist "rapid deployment forces."

Openly challenging the national-liberation movement, the imperialist circles are also trying to slander it, to cast aspersions on it and to discredit it by labeling as "international terrorism" any manifestation of the struggle for national and social progress. As is to be expected, the Soviet Union is accused of involvement in "international terrorism." Bourgeois propaganda is intensively engaged in proving the inevitability of "small" wars, cynically blabbering about the "political inability of the peoples of the Third World to cope when left to their own devices."

The events at the beginning of the 1980s revealed more clearly than ever before the true nature of the adventuristic aggressive policy of American imperialism, which has openly assumed the function of defending capitalism on an international scale and acting as the basic neocolonialist force and as the worst enemy of the peoples of the liberated countries. Under the pretext of defending the common interests of the West, it is embodying the idea of the unification of the forces of the imperialist countries, headed by the United States, for mounting an aggression against the forces of peace, national liberation and social progress.

Naturally, although this is not a new policy, it has been particularly emphasized of late. The increased interest shown by the imperialists in collective political and economic actions was clearly manifested in their activities in the Middle East, Iran in particular, and a number of African and Southeast Asian countries. In 1982 Argentina, which experienced the "gunboat diplomacy" and the policy of "economic sanctions" of the United States and the members of the European Economic Community, who supported England, became another victim of militant "collective neocolonialism."

Imperialism is making special efforts to weaken and subvert the alliance of the forces of national liberation and global socialism. The choice of this strike is a clear manifestation of the logic of the class struggle in the world arena. The purpose is to divide the anti-imperialist front, draw its attention away from the real threats and lead its participants along false tracks. In the plans of the international reaction, the isolation of the liberated countries from their natural ally and friend, whose power has become the backbone and irreplaceable support of the freedom and independence of all nations, is aimed at weakening them in the face of the imperialist onslaught and using their territory as a battlefield in the cold war against the socialist world. Fables regarding "the export of revolution" are an inseparable element of neocolonialist tactics. In addition to their main objective, which is to slander the Soviet Union and its liberation mission, such fabrications perform another role as well--they are a pretext, a smoke screen for the actual export of counterrevolution. Deliberately trying to

balance and identify as similar these diametrically opposite concepts, the imperialists are actually trying to equate the natural aspiration of the peoples for liberation from tyranny and the violence of domestic and foreign reaction with the policy of arbitrariness, cruel suppression of basic rights and the will of the masses and their aspiration toward progressive revolutionary change. The imperialists are doing this deliberately, with a view to justifying in the eyes of the world their crimes against the peoples of the liberated countries.

Socialism has always proceeded from the premise of the impossibility and futility of exporting revolution or artificially encouraging it. Revolutions cannot be imported from abroad but are the result of the development of the specific country and the persistent struggle of the masses for their liberation. The breakdown of the colonial empires was not a historical whim but a legitimate, an inevitable historical process. The Soviet Union is sacredly guided by the concept that "... the victorious proletariat cannot impose on any foreign nation any kind of happiness without undermining its own victory" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 35, p 298). However, this does not mean our tolerance of the export of counterrevolution. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "We are against the export of revolution but we cannot agree to the export of counterrevolution either."

In an effort to switch the blame, anti-Soviet propaganda is trying to ascribe to the Soviet Union and the CPSU "expansionistic plans." It is trying to present our country and the Leninist party as the source of threat to international peace and stability. It is intensively spreading slanderous fabrications according to which the USSR intends to bring the West down on its knees, "surrounding it on all sides," and subordinating to its influence and control key areas in the national liberation zone. One of the frequently used Western arguments is that the class international support provided by global socialism to the national liberation movement allegedly contradicts detente. It is claimed that with its help the fighters against local reaction and imperialist intervention are allegedly increasing international tension.

Only an obvious liar can accuse the CPSU and the Soviet state of such unseemly actions and of insincerity in their approach to the most important problems of today--the preservation of peace and prevention of the threat of nuclear war. With its tremendous political, economic and military potential the Soviet Union is the principled and tireless fighter for peace and detente as well as a decisive opponent of the policy of colonial oppression. It has never sought nor does seek advantages, privileges or facilities in other countries, including the liberated ones. It has never laid a claim to assuming a "leading role" or to "global hegemony." It has never sought areas of "vital interests" abroad or at sea, for the Soviet people neither have nor could have such selfish reasons as the pursuit of profit or the motivation to plunder or exploit other countries and nations.

The Soviet people created their powerful state--the USSR--thanks to their dedicated efforts and not by plundering someone else's wealth. They do not have to be concerned with capital investments abroad or concessions, or try



to exploit mineral resources abroad. They try not to impose their convictions on anyone and to help people regardless of where they live and what they do, to develop a feeling of their own dignity. They try to help them in their struggle for freedom from all forms of national and social oppression.

The West has frequently advised us to reject the principle of internationalism and, for the sake of detente, to develop good relations with the West based on the preservation of the sociopolitical and economic status quo in the world and to abandon the support of the liberation struggle of the peoples. Naturally, our country has not abandoned its principles and international duty. It will never agree to leave oppressed and recently liberated peoples to face imperialism alone, when the latter is concocting treacherous plans toward the young national states.

The falsehoods disseminated about our country as well as the attempts to divide the forces of real socialism and the national liberation movement are failing. The struggle waged by the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity for the preservation and safeguarding of peace and against the aggressive policy of imperialism, which threatens the peoples with murderous nuclear war, is a powerful unifying base, the strongest possible unified platform in the current difficult and alarming situation.

Peace is the loyal ally of the liberated countries and an important prerequisite for their successful advance along the path of progress. These countries urgently need a peaceful and tranquil international situation and political stability. It is only under the conditions of a durable and reliable peace that they can resolve their problems related to the elimination of their economic and scientific and technical backwardness. It is only under the conditions of the intensification and development of equal and mutually profitable cooperation that they will be able to free themselves from the clutches of hunger and poverty.

The internationalist nature of the current foreign policy course of the CPSU and the Soviet state is manifested particularly vividly precisely on the matter of war and peace--the main problem of our time. This course reflects a feature which is organically inherent in our foreign policy--approaching the solution of global, universal and regional problems by taking into consideration the vital interests of the liberated countries and promoting and implementing extensive initiatives aimed at strengthening peace, restraining the arms race and firmly rebuffing imperialist aggression and encroachments on the independence and sovereignty of the peoples.

The peace program for the 1980s, which was adopted at the 26th CPSU Congress, and which counters the intrigues of the forces of militarism, aggression and national oppression with a firm course of strengthening peace and detente and which calls for the elimination of hotbeds of tension and military conflicts, which would include Asian and African countries as well, serves these lofty purposes. The position assumed by our country concerning the barbaric aggression mounted by Tel Aviv against Lebanon is highly appreciated today in the Arab world and beyond it. It proved once again the firmness of the course pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet state of systematic support of the

liberation struggle waged by the peoples, including the just cause of the Arab nations, and the all-embracing durable and just political settlement of the Middle Eastern conflict through the efforts of all interested countries, including the PLO. In his message to Yassir Arafat, chairman of the PLO executive committee, expressing on behalf of all Soviet people feelings of sympathy and admiration for the firmness and heroism displayed by the Palestinian patriots in the struggle against the Israeli aggression in Lebanon, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "During this hour of trial I reassert that the Soviet Union was and remains on the side of the Arab people of Palestine and its only legitimate representative--the PLO. We believe that the just cause of the Palestinians will triumph in the final account."

The piratical genocidal war unleashed in Lebanon by the Israeli aggressors, under Washington's protection and with its support, proved with new emphasis the urgency of the need to take effective steps for the elaboration and implementation of a comprehensive and truly just and firm political settlement in the Middle East. The principles for such a settlement, formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his speech during the luncheon given in honor of A. N. Muhammad, general secretary of the Yemen Socialist Party Central Committee, chairman of the Supreme National Council Presidium and prime minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, who paid an official friendly visit to our country last September, provide an accurate and reliable way to peace in this long-suffering area. These extremely clear and practical principles are a realistic politically substantiated program the implementation of which would create conditions for a truly historical turn in the destinies of the peoples of the Middle East and would open the way to justice and a durable peace for which the Soviet Union has been struggling for many years.

Firmly and decisively implementing its noble internationalist mission of being the bulwark of peace and social progress, the Soviet Union is providing an irreplaceable international service to the peoples of the liberated countries and to all fighters for peace, democracy and social progress, thus confirming that the basic directions in the struggle waged by these peoples are inseparably linked with their solidarity with global socialism.

Today, when the clouds of war have thickened over our planet, and when militant imperialism is threatening to lead the world into a thermonuclear catastrophe, threatening the future of all mankind and the lives of hundreds of millions of people, the Soviet Union is firmly and steadfastly standing guard over the peace and security of all nations. The arsenal of weapons at the disposal of our homeland includes the powerful weapon of the policy of international solidarity, the policy of friendship and cooperation. In describing the great principle of proletarian internationalism, Lenin wrote that "the essence is not the 'proclamation' of internationalism but the ability to see even during most difficult times internationalism in action" (op. cit., vol 31, p 177). In today's difficult and complex period experienced by the world, our homeland is proving its inflexible loyalty to its international duty, holding high the banner of proletarian internationalism and the international solidarity among working people.

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## EDUCATING ACTIVE FIGHTERS FOR COMMUNISM

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[Article by V. Grishin, Politburo member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom]

[Text] 1. The formation of the personality of the new person is one of the main avenues of communist building and an important condition of its success. The country's economic and sociopolitical development depends to a great extent on the effectiveness of educational work. At the same time, the ideological and moral growth of every Soviet person is a tremendous asset in itself. The 26th CPSU Congress, stressing the need to strengthen party leadership of the working people's education, set the task of ensuring that the content of educational work becomes more relevant and its forms accord with Soviet people's modern aspirations and needs. Ways of resolving this task are clearly defined in CPSU Central Committee resolutions and in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's works and speeches.

The party is concerned on a day-to-day basis with ensuring that the moral and political atmosphere in our country is such as to promote, at all levels of public life, in labor and in daily life, the establishment of a spirit of high patriotic civic-mindedness and international fraternity, a respectful, caring attitude toward people, comradeship, honor, unity of word and deed, and confidence in man combined with a high sense of his responsibility to society.

In the conditions of mature socialism gigantic historical tasks have been resolved-- a dynamic, crisis-free economy has been created and the achievements of culture and science have been placed at the service of all people. In our country every person looks to the future with confidence. The people's sociopolitical, ideological and moral unity is monolithic and Soviet people's cohesion around the Communist Party and its Central Committee headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev is indestructible.

Our country is greeting the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation in an atmosphere of great political and labor enthusiasm and intensive work to implement the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee's May (1982) plenum and the plans for the 11th 5-Year Plan. The Soviet people are successfully implementing the program outlined by the party for socioeconomic transformations to build the material and technical base for communism. This is promoted by the tremendous, purposeful activity of the CPSU Central Committee, the Central

Committee Politburo and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev aimed at developing the national economy, raising the level of the people's well-being, averting the threat of a new world war and ensuring the relaxation of international tension.

Muscovites make a considerable contribution to communist building. Through shock labor and creative quest and through their loyalty to the party's ideals, they repeatedly reaffirm their high level of consciousness, patriotism and profound understanding of their civic duty. In industry, transport, construction and municipal services plans for the 10th 5-Year Plan and for 1981 were successfully fulfilled. The targets for the first 8 months of the current year were completed ahead of schedule. The entire increase in the volume of industrial output and the volume of contract operations was ensured on the basis of increased labor productivity. The production of many types of modern, highly productive machines, machine tools, instruments and other machinebuilding products and consumer goods was started up. The volume of shipments by all types of transport increased. The modernization and retooling of enterprises are taking place on a large scale. Important production facilities and capacities have been commissioned and many apartment blocks, schools, children's institutions, hospitals and trade and public catering enterprises have been constructed. Trade turnover and the volume of consumer services to the population have increased. Workers at scientific institutions are successfully fulfilling their tasks.

The Muscovites' high political consciousness is indicated by their labor initiatives and patriotic undertakings. The collectives of the Likhachev truck plant, the Zarya footwear production association and other Moscow enterprises initiated the movement for wide utilization of the achievements of science and technology with a view to saving manpower material and energy resources. Together with the people of Sverdlovsk, Muscovites launched the struggle to increase the production, expand the range and improve the quality of consumer goods. The collectives of the Moscow electric light bulb plant association, the Frunze cotton textiles factory and others started the movement for economy and thrift at every work place. Workers of the Gidroyekt institute put forward the initiative of improving the scientific and technical standard of projects, reducing the estimated cost of the construction of projects and saving manpower and material resources.

The Muscovites' efforts to create low-waste technology are of great significance not only for the economy, but also for cultivating in working people thrift and a careful attitude toward the people's property. A sense of high responsibility for the state's interests permeates the initiative of securing an above-plan increase in profit by reducing the prime cost of output produced. Many valuable initiatives aimed at the timely, high-quality fulfillment of operations have emerged in transport, construction and the service sphere.

Moscow's working people, raised by our party and the Soviet system as true patriots and internationalists, acted as initiators of the competition under the slogan "60 shock labor weeks to the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation," which became nationwide. In the capital most enterprises and institutions in all sectors of the economy joined in this movement. A new patriotic initiative

was born in the course of the shock vigils. Leading workers pledged to fulfill personal production targets for the year by the 65th anniversary of Great October. Many production forerunners have pledged to complete their personal targets for 2 and 1/2 or 3 years of the 5-year plan by the end of 1982.

Communist subbotniks are a clear manifestation of the new labor morality which dates back to the great initiative [velikiy pochin]. In Moscow, as throughout the country, they are held as important sociopolitical measures and true festivals of labor, cultivating patriotism, collectivism and a sense of profound understanding of civic duty. Practically all Muscovites of working age take part in each subbotnik. Their highly productive, unpaid labor for society's benefit is convincing evidence of the growth of the public consciousness and the increase in the effectiveness of day-to-day political education work by party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, soviet organs and economic leaders. At present Moscow's working people and the city's inhabitants are preparing for a communist subbotnik to be held on 18 December 1982 in honor of the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation.

2. The achievements--material and spiritual--of real socialism are reflected in all their fullness in the life of the USSR's capital. Thanks to the active assistance of the peoples of our whole country and the constant concern of the party and state, the task of turning Moscow into a model communist party is being consistently implemented.

This is a multifaceted, comprehensive task. In creating a leading economy, science, technology and culture it is necessary to establish high ideological and moral qualities in people in accordance with communist ideals. "Morality," Vladimir Ilich Lenin stressed, "serves to raise human society higher..." ["Complete Collected Works," Vol 41 p 313]. In accordance with Lenin's precept, our Soviet morality is based on "the struggle to strengthen and perfect communism." [loc cit]

The desire to consistently implement Lenin's precepts permeates the "moral principles of an inhabitant of a model communist city," which originated actually in labor collectives and have been approved by the Moscow CPSU Gorkom. Taking account of the particular features and have been approved by the Moscow CPSU Gorkom. Taking account of the particular features of the USSR's capital, they give concrete form to the provisions of the moral code of the builder of communism, which forms an integral part of the CPSU program.

The "moral principles of an inhabitant of a model communist city" have met with recognition and support from Muscovites and form the basis of the great, multifaceted educational work being done by party, Soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic organizations and ideological institutions in the city.

The city party organization and Moscow's rayon and primary party organizations constantly devote great attention to the communist education of Muscovites. The question of further improving political education work among the working people in the light of the 26th CPSU Congress decisions, resolutions of the party's Central Committee, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's recommendations, and in the spirit of the "moral principles of an inhabitant of a model communist city" was recently discussed at a meeting of the city's party aktiv.

In many rayons of the capital, comprehensive plans for the working people's communist education are being implemented and centers for the scientific organization of ideological education work and methodology sections for Marxist-Leninist ethics and moral education have been set up and are operating actively. Lecture propaganda on questions of morality and the Soviet way of life has improved.

Party organizations are increasing their exactingness toward communists with regard to the strict observance of the CPSU rules and the norms of communist morality. Demands are being stepped up not only with regard to the communist's production activity and conduct, but also to his social activeness and the enhancement of his role as the educator and organizer of the collective.

In the communist education of Muscovites the city party organization attaches paramount significance to the formation of communist convictions and an active life stance in working people.

Here an important place belongs to the system of Marxist-Leninist education and mass political propaganda, which embraces more than 4 million Muscovites. The results of the last academic year in the party study system indicate an improvement in the ideological and theoretical standard of the classes and the considerable depth of knowledge obtained by students. Their social activeness is increasing. Many students formulate raised socialist pledges, personal counterplans and individual records of economy and submit rationalizing proposals. This is a clear manifestation of the unity of word and deed and the moral force of communist convictions.

At the same time there are shortcomings in the organization and holding of classes. The effectiveness of this work is not always up to modern requirements. Manifestations of dogmatism are met with at classes in political schools and at seminars. At times, instead of the lively exchange of opinions, creative discussions and the profound analysis of questions of concern to students, truisms are merely repeated. All this not only lessens interest in the study of problems of world outlook, but also creates indifference in people and does them moral harm. Classes in the economic study system requires considerable improvement. In accordance with the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee resolution "On Further Improving the Economic Training and Education of Working People," in the new academic year the party gorkom is directing party organizations and propagandists to cultivate in the students modern economic thought, commitment to the advantages of the socialist social system, a sense of duty and the ability to ensure the success of the party's economic policy. The gorkom sets ideological workers the task of ensuring that students in all forms of political and economic education acquire profound knowledge and know how to use it actively. We see it as the main aim of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations in this work to ensure that every person is devoted to the cause of communism, loves his socialist motherland warmly, works honestly for the fatherland's good and displays daily concern for strengthening its economic and defense might, and that all the capital's working people know and understand in depth the domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, struggle for their implementation and strive for the complete, timely implementation of the decisions of the party and its Central Committee.

A central task is the education of the working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism. The formation and strengthening of our multinational union state, its great historical achievements, the moral and political unity of Soviet society and the peoples' indestructible friendship are the natural result of the Leninist Communist Party's policy and the historical creativity of our country's peoples, educated and led by the party.

Ideological workers and the party aktiv in the capital, on the basis of the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the 60th Anniversary of the USSR's Formation," seek to reveal convincingly the great revolutionary transforming force of Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of proletarian internationalism and the great creative contribution made by our party and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the theory and practice of scientific communism and the communist education of the masses. The sense of belonging to the unified Soviet motherland, personal responsibility for consolidating the gains of socialism and pride in the party, the people and our multinational state of the whole people are growing stronger among Muscovites.

In their day-to-day work Moscow's party organizations have taken up the rich experience of patriotic and international education of the working people which was generalized and analyzed in the course of the all-union scientific and practical conference held in Riga this summer.

Moscow is the capital of a multinational state, a city of internationalists where representatives of all the Soviet peoples live and work in harmony, a city which acts as the source of the ideas of friendship and fraternity among Soviet people rallied by the Communist Party. We strive to ensure every Muscovite follows undeviatingly the principles of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, makes his contribution to strengthening friendship among all the Soviet Union's peoples and is implacable toward any manifestations of national or racial hostility.

The Muscovites' fraternal ties with the working people of our country's union republics are strengthening, multifaceted production and cultural contacts among kindred and associated labor collectives and developing a constant exchange of leading experience takes place. "...Internationalism in the conditions of our multinational country today," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed at the Tashkent celebrations, "is first and foremost the honest, conscientious and efficient labor of all the country's peoples for the common good."

3. Labor collectives have a greater educational influence on working people every year. In present-day conditions the labor collective "is a kind of home, family and school. It is here that professional experience, skill and the habit of working conscientiously are handed down from generation to generation" (L. I. Brezhnev). At many Moscow enterprises an atmosphere of harmonious work, comradeship and exactingness and implacability toward shortcomings has become established. Here party committees and bureaus skillfully coordinate the efforts of communists, trade union and Komsomol organizations and economic leaders in the cause of educating workers and employees in the spirit of a communist attitude toward labor and public property and implacability toward antisocial acts.

Interesting experience of ideological, political and labor education has been accumulated at the ATE-1 automobile and tractor electrical equipment plant. The plant's party organization activates socialist competition and improves its forms, channeling the masses' creativity into the discovery and effective utilization of additional reserves. In the vast majority of teams, under the leadership of shop party organizations and party groups, team leaders and mentors take part actively in ideological education work alongside political information workers and agitators, and "news flashes" and "newssheets" are published regularly. With matters organized in this way, no member of the collective is ignored. The sound moral and psychological atmosphere in shops and sectors of the plant promotes the successful fulfillment of plans and pledges and the growth of people's labor and social activeness.

On the initiative of communists, individual socialist pledges and counterplans have been formulated at the ATE-1 on the basis of the use of internal production reserves. Some 85 percent of all workers with personal pledges have decided to complete their 1982 targets ahead of schedule.

Many examples of smooth, harmonious work by collectives could be cited. The line of implementing labor collectives' rights and increasing their responsibility is a constant feature of the activity of Moscow's party organizations. CPSU raykoms systematically analyze the state of affairs in labor collectives and adopt measures to step up their role in educating people. Much is being done to this end in Leningradskiy, Proletarskiy and Timirayazevskiy Rayons. At the same time enterprises and institutions still exist in the city where educational work is weak and there is a lack of the necessary exactingness toward people's labor and conduct. There are instances of the nonfulfillment of production duties and official duties, irresponsibility and carelessness and antisocial behavior by individual citizens.

The party gorkom and raykoms channel the efforts of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations into increasing labor collectives' responsibility for the task entrusted to them and ensuring that an atmosphere of creative quest is created in the collectives so as to help to the greatest possible extent to enhance the efficiency of social production and work quality. There is dissemination of the experience of the best collectives where a communist attitude toward labor is skillfully cultivated in people, where everyone participates actively in the production and social life of the enterprise and where the people have created an atmosphere of good will, commitment to the common success and implacability toward violations of labor and production discipline, sluggishness and bureaucracy.

One of the most important criteria of the maturity of labor collective is the desire of each of its members to protect and augment socialist property, use the people's property thriftily and come out resolutely against thriftlessness, embezzlement and other phenomena which are detrimental to public interests.

The production team is one of the most important, effective links in communist education actually in the process of labor activity. The educational work of comprehensive teams working on the basis of a single contract is particularly effective. In these collectives people are rallied more closely by common production tasks and spiritual interests. They ensure a particularly complete



combination of the interests of the collective and of each worker. At the 17th Trade Union Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted that a well-organized, efficiently and skillfully operating team is "a true school for developing management skills among workers and an experimental laboratory for any creative initiative. The members of such a team master the economic and political knowledge which in our day is so necessary in practice, in their daily labor together. In such a team the sense of being master of your own plant, master of your country, is indeed forged."

At present nearly half of Moscow's workers are united in production teams. But at a number of enterprises the creation of such production collectives is going more slowly than it should and account is not always taken of the skills of workers included in the team. The continuing development of the team form of labor and the creation of an atmosphere of collectivism, honor and creativity in every team depend on joint efforts by party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and soviet and economic organs. It is important to step up the educational role of foremen and team leaders. These leaders, by virtue of their place in production, are most closely, intimately associated with the workers and their needs and interests. Moscow's party organizations seek to influence cadre policy so as to ensure that experienced, skilled Communists and Komsomol members who enjoy prestige head the sectors and teams.

Socialist competition is a powerful, tried-and-tested means of resolving both economic and educational tasks. It is the clearest manifestation of the link between labor education and the ideological tempering and moral improvement of people. In the process of labor rivalry the working people's initiative and independence are developed, the communist attitude toward labor is crystallized and collectivism is strengthened.

It is the course of competition, which rallies working people to a common objective, that a selfless exchange of experience takes place, the mentors movement and mutual assistance are developed and the transfer of frontrunners to laggard teams is accomplished. In our city we have many such manifestations of true comradeship and selflessness. The working people's ideological and moral maturity is particularly clearly visible in the highest form of socialist competition--the movement for a communist attitude toward labor. More than four-fifths of all Moscow's working people are now taking part in this movement. We are striving to ensure that there is no lowering of requirements in the movement for a communist attitude toward labor, or in socialist competition in general. It must set increasingly high, meaningful tasks for the participants. It is important everywhere to eradicate formalism and strive for the Leninist requirement of publicity for competition, the comparability of its results and the wide dissemination of the frontrunners' experience.

There are still collectives where competition is purely formal in nature and the workers do not know the pledges of the enterprise, shop or team--or even their own. This situation gives rise to indifference and formalism in competition and a contradiction between word and deed. When calls for creativity in labor and initiative are uttered in an atmosphere of serious omissions in the use of equipment and the expenditure of raw materials and fuel and energy resources

and the poor introduction of leading experience and progressive forms of labor, then it is no use expecting success in the economy or in educational work. This requires serious measures from party organizations. These measures must consist in assessing more exactly and in a more principled way the progress of competition and people's attitude toward labor and the fulfillment of the pledges adopted, and in cultivating a sense of responsibility for loyalty to one's word or promise. To this end it is necessary to ensure correctly organized material and moral incentives and the strict observance of the rule: Wages must be earned. It is important to ensure the most direct, tangible links between labor and its remuneration and to resolutely eradicate so-called "wage padding" [vyvodilovka], wage leveling and all kinds of window dressing.

The organic combination of each worker's interests with those of the enterprise and of society has both an economic and an educational effect. The quality of work is not only an economic but a moral concept. And in all circumstances the best guarantee of quality is a person's conscience. Moscow's party organizations are doing all they can to encourage those who work honestly and to value and support them.

The implementation of the party's course of the intensification of social production and of increasing its efficiency is only possible with a high level of organization, a businesslike approach and discipline. Much work still lies ahead of us as we are to meet these demands everywhere. At the city's industrial enterprises there are still losses of worktime because of violations of labor discipline and leave taken with the administration's permission. The party gorkom and raykoms are mobilizing party and trade union organizations, economic leaders and labor collectives to strengthen conscious discipline and organization and utilize to this end the whole arsenal of means of education, social influence and the potential of competition.

The conditions of competition also need further improvement. They must be made to conform to the modern requirements of production and planning. The quest for production reserves, the utilization of the achievements of economic progress and the improvement of the working people's ideological, general educational and professional level are the constant concern of the participants in socialist competition in Moscow.

The political and moral development of Soviet people is promoted by their participation in managing public and production affairs. Hundreds of thousands of the capital's working people work actively on elected party and soviet organs and in trade unions and in the republic organizations and are involved in permanent production conferences. An effective role is played by such forms of participation by working people in the management of production and public affairs as workers' meetings, councils of innovators and teams and economic analysis bureaus.

The thoughts and deeds of Muscovites, as of all Soviet people, are directed toward the resolution of the task formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev: "...Work better; compile plans better and fulfill them better; organize production better and produce better, in a word, work more efficiently." This partywide demand gives particular emphasis, on the agenda for every party organization, to the question of overcoming the inertia of old habits in educational work, economic management and labor, strengthening discipline in all sectors of the economy and forming in people a sense of responsibility and a creative approach to the task.

The capital's working people strive to master sophisticated machinery and technology and to improve their qualifications and professional skill and in seek to steadily increase labor productivity and to save material, energy and financial resources and all that the people's labor has created and that the country possesses. The observance of these demands has already become the paramount moral duty and spiritual need for a considerable number of working people in the city. Moscow's party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and soviet and economic organs will continue to cultivate in all Muscovites both a sense of responsibility for the state of affairs at their own enterprise or institution and in the city and the country, and concern for public interests.

A priority role in resolving educational tasks belongs to leadership cadres. It is the duty of every leader to organically unite within himself party-mindedness with profound competence, and discipline with initiative and a creative approach to the task. In order to ensure the constant unity of economic organization work and ideological and political work, the leader must always take account of the sociopolitical and educational consequence of the decisions adopted, be sensitive to people and their needs and aspirations, set an example in work and life and display a high sense of responsibility for the task entrusted to him. Most of our leadership cadres at all levels do indeed act in this way. Party raykoms involve them increasingly frequently in educational work and analyze their activity increasingly profoundly. In the selection of leadership cadres their personal moral and political qualities and ability to educate their subordinates are taken into account to an increasing degree alongside their professional knowledge and experience.

At the same time there are leaders who participate only poorly in educational work. Instances of incorrect conduct by individual communist leaders have not been eradicated. Certain officials violate party ethics. Such people may have their positive qualities, but as leaders they are unpromising. If they do not heed party criticism and the imperative of the times, sooner or later life will put them in the place they really deserve.

4. Moscow's party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and soviet organs do much to educate Muscovites in the spirit of respect for and strict observance of the norms of the USSR Constitution, Soviet laws and the rules of socialist communal living and the demands of communist morality. We proceed on the basis that socialist democracy presupposes the unity of rights and duties and discipline in all sectors of public life and production and in daily life.

In general the atmosphere in the city is characterized by the Muscovites' highly moral behavior, conscientiousness and organization. But egotism, lack of discipline, laxity and other phenomena diametrically opposed to our communist morality have not yet been eliminated in individual citizens. There are instances of embezzlement, speculation and drunkenness. Disciplinary commissions, councils of labor honor, public cadre departments and comrades' courts do not make full use of the potential at their disposal for educational influence on offenders.

Deviations from the demands of communist morality, money grubbing, extortion, embezzlement and window dressing are profoundly alien to the Soviet way of life. The exposure and eradication of the specific causes of the existence of anti-social phenomena is one of the most important tasks for party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, soviet and economic organs and all communists.

We set ourselves the goal of ensuring that Muscovites know and strictly observe the laws of our land, always act in the spirit of socialist legality, maintain exemplary public order and are implacable toward any antisocial manifestations or violations of the rules and norms of socialist communal living. It is important for people to participate actively in sociopolitical life, to help in all their labor and conduct all their activity to establish and develop the Soviet socialist way of life and to resolutely combat manifestations of all forms of a consumerist mentality.

The recent party aktiv meeting instructed ideological workers to explain clearly and accessibly to Muscovites the historic achievements and advantages of real socialism, to expose bourgeois fabrications about the imaginary Western freedoms and the "advantages" of the consumerist culture and to use the work of truth to combat narrowminded rumors. CPSU raykoms, party organizations and ideological cadres are called upon persistently and purposefully to raise the level of social awareness, develop political vigilance in Muscovites and arm them with the ability to actively resist the class enemy's intrigues. Here great significance is attached to improving the provision of information to working people on topical questions of domestic and foreign policy and the problems of socio-economic development. Wide opportunities are offered by general political days, information conferences, question-and-answer evenings, oral magazines, lectures, talks and agitation using visual aids. All these well-known forms of educational work among the masses should be politically refined and replenished with deeper content.

In present-day conditions great significance is also attached to atheist education and the skillful, well-argued interpretation of the sterility and hypocrisy of Christian, Muslim, Jewish and all other kinds of religious morality. This work is not always up to the necessary standard. As a result we are confronted with religious rites, baptisms and church weddings. Young people also participate not infrequently in the performance of rites. Party raykoms and party organizations are instructed to constantly extend and improve work in the atheist education of citizens and to be more active in introducing the new, Soviet rites. At the same time we seek to enhance the responsibility of party committees and officials for an attentive, sensitive attitude toward citizens' day-to-day needs and aspirations. It is necessary to display greater concern for people who are personally unsettled [lichno neustroyenny] and who are often inclined to make unobjective evaluations of the events taking place in the world and in their personal life and seek to escape into a world of religion. We should carry out patient individual work with them, devoting special attention to children from families of believers. Atheist education is only effective when it takes account of the peculiarities and needs of each individual.

The education of young people is the constant concern of Moscow's party organizations. Young Muscovites, like the vast majority of their contemporaries throughout our country, are devoted to the cause of communism and confirm this every day in their labor, study and public activity. At the same time in the light of present-day demands shortcomings can be seen in educational work with adolescents

and young people. Some young people are characterized by a reluctance to participate in socially useful labor, disregard for generally accepted moral requirements and a consumerist attitude toward life and work. Many young workers still fail to cope with their duties in social production and service, violate labor discipline and change their place of work frequently.

There are shortcomings in educational work with schoolchildren, pupils at vocational and technical schools and technical colleges and VUZ students. Teachers at educational institutions must do better with regard to the political and moral education of young people. Parents also allow errors to occur in the raising of children.

In this connection it is planned to step up the attention of party organizations toward questions of educating young people, to ensure more active work by universities of pedagogical knowledge for parents, to make wider use of the potential of councils for assistance to the family and school in production and to promote the practice of discussing family education problems in labor collectives and party organizations.

The Komsomol occupies a special place in educational work with young people. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the 19th Komsomol Congress is the Komsomol organizations' action program for young people's moral education. Leonid Ilich recalled the need for young people "to learn honest labor and the ability to perceive life, with all its complexities, from a standpoint of Soviet patriotism and communist conviction." Comrade L. I. Brezhnev called on the young generation of the land of the soviets to be implacable toward the slightest deviations from our social norms, stressing that we want to see our young people cultured, organized, businesslike and respecting their elders. Work with young people requires an interested attitude toward their demands and problems and a specific approach, and needs authoritative, experienced people who know what to say to young people. Party organizations seek to constantly improve the standard of leadership of the Komsomol and to improve the education of the rising generation.

5. The educational activity of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and soviet organs must embrace not only the sphere of labor and social life, but also people's daily lives. The Khromatron plant party and trade union organizations and administration act correctly. They have organized the sale of goods, pharmaceutical services and other types of services at the plant. As a result the plant's workers spend less time on everyday needs. Round-the-clock free catering has been organized there for people working a three-shift schedule. The complex of medical and preventive services is being developed. This is a specific manifestation of concern for people. It must be broad and mass in character.

Definite positive experience of educational work at working people's places of residence has been accumulated in the city. The Pervomayskiy, Frunzenskiy and Perovskiyy CPSU Raykoms do much work on this question. The social activeness of Moscow's population has increased as a result of purposeful educational work. In Perovskiyy Rayon, in particular, around 14,000 people have been elected to block committees and support point councils, have been enlisted in the work of people's militia detachments and lead creative art circles for children and

teenagers. More than 200,000 residents in the raykom constantly take part in subbotniks and voskresniks to improve the amenities of the territory and in competition for the title of "block maintained in exemplary fashion."

The other rayon party organizations are also improving educational work at Muscovites' places of residence, which is making it possible to inject the demands of the "moral principles of an inhabitant of a model communist city" increasingly thoroughly into relations between people and into daily life. However, there are still considerable reserves in this important work. Muscovites' complaints of shortcomings in the work of trade, public catering, consumer service and transport enterprises are justified. The time spent traveling by public transport and buying goods sometimes exceeds the time spent on social work and on raising children. Working people are forced to devote to housework much of the time remaining after work. Industrial enterprises produce few products making housework radically easier. Cases of rudeness and a disrespectful attitude toward people on the part of personnel in trade, passenger transport and consumer and medical services are common. All this influences people's mood and ultimately their behavior. The city party organization believes it is necessary to further develop the system of family and consumer services to considerably expand the sphere of services and to improve their quality. The efforts above all of economic, city and municipal services must be more closely coordinated and they must be geared to further improving Muscovites' living and consumer service conditions and to the struggle to transform Moscow into a model communist city.

Moscow's party and trade union organizations and soviet organs, are doing much to improve the ideological, moral and aesthetic content of cultural institutions' work. But today it is necessary to seek more actively to ensure that the events held there are more effective and produce appreciable benefits for people's communist education and the enrichment of their spiritual world. Leisure must actively promote people's moral improvement.

In recent years social organizations have been enlisting more and more Muscovites in preserving, augmenting and disseminating the spiritual wealth of the socialist society and in conserving Moscow's historical, architectural and other cultural values.

Work to strengthen the family and inculcate highly moral relations within it is of great topicality and social significance. It is the task of party, soviet and Komsomol organizations to display constant concern for strengthening the family, to enhance parents' responsibility for the education of children in a spirit of lofty communist ideological commitment and morality, and to take an active part in giving every possible assistance to schools and social organizations in educating the rising generation. Agitation collectives, the apartment block public and workers in cultural enlightenment institutions must be geared toward this activity and the work of the "family and marriage service" medical and preventive institutions created in a number of rayons of the city must be developed and improved.

Party, trade union organizations and soviet organs should persistently instill in every resident of the capital the sense of being master in his city and respect for the Muscovite's good name. As good and thrifty masters Moscow's

working people will augment the city's economic and cultural wealth, strengthen discipline in all spheres of social and labor life and set an example of organization, self-possession and responsibility always and everywhere--at work, at home, in the street, in stores, in movie theaters, on public transport. Self-discipline in behavior and actions, tolerance of particular unforeseen circumstances, understanding of those circumstances, benevolence and the desire to eliminate shortcomings by common efforts are all envisaged in the "moral principles of an inhabitant of a model communist city."

The improvement of the efficiency of ideological and educational work and the introduction into Muscovites' life and labor of the "moral principles of an inhabitant of a model communist city" require that party organizations display a differentiated approach toward the various categories of working people, take their demands and interests into account and diversify the forms and methods of mass political events. The level of party leadership of Muscovites' ideological and moral education has improved in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Improving Ideological and Political Education Work." Party raykoms and primary party organizations have begun to analyze questions of educational work more often and more profoundly at plenums and aktiv meetings. Considerable attention is paid to training ideological cadres.

In order to further improve Muscovites' ideological and moral education the party gorkom and raykoms have outlined measures to improve comprehensive planning and coordination in the work of all ideological institutions and to increase in every possible way Communists' vanguard role and economic leaders responsibility for creating a favorable moral and psychological climate in collectives.

The party gorkom has approved a plan of measures aimed at further improving the education of the capital's working people in the spirit of the "moral principles of an inhabitant of a model communist city." To this end more effective use will be made of political and economic studies, mass forms of propaganda, classes in educational establishments, events staged by cultural institutions, items in the press and radio and television programs. Party committees and party organizations are fully determined to ensure that the plan is implemented in full. The level of party leadership must match up to the demands of the time. The task of the communist education of the masses will continue to remain the focus of the attention of Moscow's party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations. The intensification of this work will promote the successful fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the CPSU Central Committee's May (1982) plenum, and will help Muscovites augment their contributions to implementing the tasks of communist building.

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## SOCIALIST ATTITUDE TO THE ENVIRONMENT

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[Article by I. Novikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission on Environmental Protection and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources]

[Text] At all stages, starting with Lenin's decrees on environmental protection, the communist party and Soviet state have always been concerned with the sensible utilization and reproduction of natural resources so that they can make them fully available not only to our contemporaries but to the future generations of Soviet people.

The interaction between society and the environment and the preservation of the biosphere for the good of the people have become today some of the topical problems of historical development. The scale and gravity of these problems have increased inordinately under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution and the accelerated growth of industrial output. In the final account, the future of mankind depends on the solution of these global problems. Legitimately, they find themselves in the focal point of the ideological struggle and have become a structural component of international relations. Their solution is inseparably related to the struggle for peace on earth, for the prevention of nuclear war and for disarmament.

History itself calls upon socialism to give a positive example of how to resolve the problem of environmental protection and rational utilization of natural resources.

"... Nature can be used in different ways," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said. "Judging by the many examples known to the history of mankind, one could leave behind sterile, lifeless areas hostile to man. However, comrades, one can and must ennoble nature. One must help nature to manifest its vital forces more completely. We are familiar with the simple expression 'blossoming area.' This is a description of a land in which human knowledge, experience, attachment and love for nature make true miracles. This is also our own socialist way."

With its public ownership of productive capital and planned economic management system, socialism ensures the necessary interaction between society and nature and makes it possible promptly to develop and practically to implement scientifically substantiated environmental protection measures. As our



national economy develops and as our cities and industrial centers grow, the Soviet state is spending increasing amounts of money on environmental protection. The policy of a thrifty attitude toward natural resources and the careful attitude toward nature pursued in our country, is codified in the documents of party congresses, the USSR Constitution (Articles 18 and 67) and party and government decrees.

Headed by the communist party and resolving the problems of the further development of the national economy, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the conversion of the economy to intensive development, the Soviet people are engaged in tremendous efforts related to the protection of the environment. Their main tasks were clearly defined by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees "On Increasing Environmental Protection and Improving the Use of Natural Resources" (1972) and "On Additional Measures to Increase Environmental Protection and Improve the Use of Natural Resources" (1978) as well as the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990." Problems of environmental protection are regulated with a number of special legal acts which include the Foundations of Water, Land and Timber Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics, and the Foundations of Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics on the Subsoil, as well as laws on the protection and utilization of the animal world and the protection of the air.

In July 1981, with a view to ensuring further improvements in the protection of the environment in the country and strengthening control over the implementation of party and government decisions on such matters, a USSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission on the Preservation of the Environment and the Rational Utilization of Natural Resources was established. It includes the heads of several ministries and USSR state committees, the USSR Committee for People's Control, the AUCCTU, the Komsomol Central Committee and the USSR Academy of Sciences. The commission has been entrusted with ensuring the implementation of a unified scientific and technical policy in the area of the protection and rational utilization of the land and the subsoil, water resources, the air, and the animal and vegetable worlds, the reproduction of natural resources, improvements in the human habitat, consideration of major problems related to the transformation of the country's nature, the practice of observing ecological requirements in planning territorial-production complexes, the construction and reconstruction of enterprises and reclamation and hydroengineering systems, transportation and other projects, and intensifying the coordination of activities among USSR ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics and public organizations in the area of environmental protection. The decisions of the commission on matters within its competence will be mandatory for ministries and departments of the USSR and the union republics and organizations, enterprises and establishments.

As we know, the overall condition of the environment in the Soviet Union is considerably better compared to that in the developed capitalist countries. We have created and are operating a nationwide service in charge of observing and supervising the level of environmental pollution, covering more than 450

cities, about 1,900 internal water projects and all internal and coastal seas as well as the soil of areas in which agriculture and forest chemization is used. Planned environmental protection measures are being applied on all levels, involving the extensive use of the latest achievements of science and technology and progressive domestic and foreign experience.

Soviet science plays an important role in resolving problems of environmental protection and rational utilization of natural resources. In the USSR a large number of scientific research, academic and sectorial organizations are studying environmental protection topics. The coordination of their activities and control over the implementation of scientific and technical programs in this area are provided by the Interdepartmental Scientific and Technical Council on comprehensive problems of environmental protection and rational utilization of natural resources under the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the Scientific Council on Problems of the Biosphere under the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium.

Our country has developed a new medical science department--environmental hygiene--which deals with medical and biological aspects of environmental protection as the scientific base for primary prevention of possible adverse effects of different environmental factors on man. Norms have been developed on maximally admissible concentrations for 804 chemicals in the water of open-water reservoirs, 446 chemicals in the atmosphere and 33 of their combinations and 28 chemicals which may pollute the soil. A study is under way of mechanisms governing physiological, biological, genetic and immunological processes of life under the conditions of a changing environment, paralleled by the development of the necessary prevention and treatment measures.

The topics of the studies related to the protection and rational utilization of water resources include the elaboration of comprehensive measures aimed at ensuring the repeated recycling of water in industry, the use of sewer waters in agriculture, the norming of water consumption, upgrading the efficiency of exploitation and protection of lakes, water reservoirs and small rivers and refining forecasts of changes in the annual runoff of major rivers based on developments in the national economy. The method of forecasting the level of air pollution during periods of worsened weather conditions, developed by the institutes of the State Committee of Hydrology and Meteorology is being extensively applied. Such forecasts enable us substantially to reduce the harmful matters released in the atmosphere, particularly during periods of expected adverse situations.

Studies are under way of the influence of intensive industrial and agricultural production on biological communities and individual species of plants and animals. The scientific foundations are being developed of a comprehensive rebuilding of disturbed ecological systems. The work of the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences in the struggle against desertification is of great interest in this respect.

Scientific studies are being made in industry related to low-waste and (wherever possible) wasteless technological processes.

The development of a method for the formulation of territorial comprehensive environmental protection systems and of a method for determining the economic efficiency of environmental protection measures is nearing completion.

Academics I. V. Petryanov-Sokolov, B. N. Laskorin, I. P. Gerasimov, and V. Ye. Sokolov, VASKHNIL Academician V. N. Vinogradov and many other scientists are making a great contribution to environmental protection.

The scientific and technical revolution frequently creates new phenomena in the course of the interaction between society and nature, the true significance of which is difficult to assess because of the limited nature of available practical experience and the frequently unpredictable possible ecological consequences caused by the exceptional complexity of dynamic relations and ties in the environmental structure. This imposes upon the scientists a particularly great responsibility for the recommendations they issue.

A total of 9.3 billion rubles in state capital investments were spent between 1976 and 1980 on environmental protection measures. As a result of these measures, in 5 years the release of harmful substances into the air of cities and industrial centers dropped by 13 percent and atmospheric pollution with dust, sulfur and hydrogen sulfide was stabilized or reduced somewhat in 70 percent of the controlled cities. The amount of recycled waters in industry increased. In 1981 it reached 67 percent of overall industrial water consumption. After improving the treatment of sewer waters the discarding of such untreated effluents was reduced by more than 20 percent. The appropriation of land for nonfarming purposes was reduced by one-half. Areas of rebuilt land are expanding. In a number of cities garbage-burning and processing plants have been built. The registration of permanent environmental pollution sources has been completed.

Under the guidance of the Moscow city party committee extensive environmental protection work is being done in our capital. As a result, Moscow has the cleanest air and water among the largest cities throughout the world. During the 10th Five-Year Plan funds appropriated for environmental protection measures in Moscow tripled the amount allocated between 1971 and 1975. Despite the considerable increase in the volume of industrial output and transportation, the condition of the air over the city was basically stabilized and even improved in some respects. A virtually complete end has been put to the discarding of raw sewage into water reservoirs with the installation of powerful treatment facilities.

The plan for environmental protection projects for the 11th Five-Year Plan, which was approved by the Moscow city party committee bureau and Moscow Soviet Executive Committee, is being implemented. It defines the basic directions to be followed in the area of environmental protection in Moscow. Problems related to environmental protection are always kept in the center of attention of the party, soviet and economic organizations of the city and its rayons. The second Moscow city practical science conference on environmental protection in the capital was held last May. A comprehensive target system for the city's environmental protection for the period through 1990 is

nearing completion. Environmental protection is contributing to the implementation of the tasks set by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev of making Moscow a model communist city.

Plans for comprehensive environmental protection measures have been formulated for many other cities and industrial centers in our country as well. Wherever their implementation is steadily supervised by party and soviet organs and the necessary attention is being paid to this problem, the ecological situation improves with every passing year.

Last year the bureau of the Kemerovo city party committee considered the problem of the unsatisfactory condition of the air over individual city enterprises and measures to lower its degree of pollution. The city party committee bureau reprimanded A. Denisov, chief engineer at the coke chemical plant for the unsatisfactory work of the equipment, violation of technological regulations, nonfulfillment of deadlines for preventive planned repairs, and weakened control over the condition of sewer waters and effluents discarded by the enterprise. The reprimand was entered in his record. It also issued warnings to V. Kutergin and A. Pronin, chief engineers at the Khimprom and Azot production associations and to G. Matseralik and N. Tokarev, chief engineers at the chemical fibers and aniline-dyes plants. The gorkom bureau earmarked measures to increase supervision over the condition of the environment and made it incumbent upon the CPSU raykoms and the party committees at enterprises and organizations to increase their exigency toward economic managers regarding the protection of the air and water in the city and to consider any neglectful attitude toward this important matter a violation of party and state discipline. The Kemerovo Oblast party bureau, which considered the matter subsequently, passed an expanded resolution aimed at improving environmental protection in the city of Kemerovo. It was pointed out that A. Denisov, chief engineer at the coke chemical plant, had failed to draw the necessary conclusions from the decisions of the city party committee bureau and deemed his further employment in his position inexpedient.

The implementation of environmental protection measures yields substantial economic results as the following example indicates: between 1976 and 1980 systems for the recycling and consecutive use of an amount of water totaling 121.7 million cubic meters per day were applied. In 1981 this saved more than 40 cubic kilometers of water from natural sources. The cost of this project was 1.2 billion rubles in capital investments. According to the USSR Gosplan, USSR Gosstroy, USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and USSR Academy of Sciences, had such recycling system not been used, the construction of systems for fresh-water supplies to enterprises and preparations for its utilization and for the treatment of sewer waters would have cost 11 billion rubles. Therefore, in 5 years 7 billion rubles' worth of capital investments were saved by installing a water recirculation system. However, the main benefit stemming from environmental protection is social. The air and the water become cleaner, the number of wild animals and birds increases, and a great deal of the landscape is changed. All this offers the Soviet people favorable conditions for work and recreation.

We intend to invest 10.3 billion rubles of state funds in environmental protection during the 11th Five-Year Plan or 11 percent more than during the 10th. We are planning the implementation of a set of measures for environmental protection and the rational utilization of natural resources. The ministries and departments must increase the efficiency of the funds appropriated for such objectives and ensure the timely completion of environmental protection projects as stipulated by the plan. However, the capital investments appropriated for environmental protection for the country at large were not fully used in 1981. The heads of some ministries, departments, enterprises and organizations are still paying insufficient attention to such important problems and do not ensure the prompt implementation of the necessary environmental protection measures, as a result of which the condition of the environment in some cities and industrial centers is still improving too slowly.

The enterprises managed by the USSR Ministries of Power and Electrification, Nonferrous Metallurgy, Ferrous Metallurgy, Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, Construction Materials Industry, Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood-Processing Industry and Coal Industry, and the Ministries of Chemical Industry, Mineral Fertilizer Production and Petroleum Industry remain the basic permanent sources of air pollution. They account for about 83 percent of the overall volume of harmful substances released into the atmosphere.

So far it is mainly the solid substances of industrial gases that are tapped. Gaseous and liquid harmful substances are not rendered entirely harmless. The Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building should produce a larger amount of modern equipment for the comprehensive treatment of effluent gases, while the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems should manufacture instruments to control the condition of the air basin. Another major shortcoming is the fact that a large quantity of gas treatment and dust-tapping systems installed at enterprises is being inefficiently used. In 1980, 28,000, or 12 percent, of the 234,000 such systems installed throughout the country worked improperly. In some enterprises this indicator was even worse. Thus, according to a study made by the state gas treatment inspectorate of the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building of the cement industry enterprises, 38 percent of the cement industry enterprises had improper and ineffectively working gas treatment systems. Poor use is being made of gas treatment systems at the Podolsk, Nizhniy Tagil, Navoi and many other cement plants. Meanwhile, the positive practical experience of the Akmyane cement plant, in which environmental protection has been ensured, is being disseminated extremely slowly.

Because of violations of technological processes, some enterprises allow the release of volley discards of harmful substances which adversely affect the environment. Motor vehicles are substantially polluting the air of many cities. The technical condition of many motor vehicles, the improper organization of the traffic and the poor quality of the roads have an adverse influence.

The managers of many enterprises and urban housing-communal services do not ensure the timely implementation of planned measures to put an end to discarding untreated industrial and residential sewer waters into rivers and other water reservoirs. On an average no more than 66 percent of the sewer waters entering the treatment systems meet the normative level. The main reason for this is the low operational level of the treatment systems. In some cases such projects have even not been supplied with water-measuring systems and control instruments or with chemical agents. The Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems should increase the production of such technical facilities, while the Ministry of Chemical Industry should increase the production of materials needed to improve the quality of sewer water treatment.

Many ore-mining enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, Nonferrous Metallurgy, Coal Industry and Construction Materials Industry are rehabilitating the land they have used too slowly. The Soyuzsel'khozkhimiya organizations are not always observing requirements related to environmental protection in the transportation, storing and utilization of pesticides. Frequently ministries and departments--both customers and contractors (USSR Ministry of Construction of Heavy-Industry Enterprises, USSR Ministry of Industrial Construction, USSR Ministry of Construction, Ministry of Construction in the Far East and Transbaykal Regions, USSR Ministry of Rural Construction, and others) frequently fail to ensure the prompt implementation of planned assignments on the installation of environmental protection systems.

Addressing a meeting of the members of the Dnepropetrovsk obkom bureau and party gorkom and members of the party and soviet aktivs, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out the need to maintain the purity of the land, air and water. There was a time when a plant had to be commissioned as soon as possible and production was needed at all cost. Today we must build in such a way as to protect nature. We must also update the old enterprises to prevent them from harming the environment.

In this connection planning, design, construction and equipment supply personnel--all participants in the construction conveyor belt--face major assignments. The condition of the environment and the efficient utilization of natural resources greatly depend on the quality of the selected areas for the building of enterprises and projects, the selection of production technologies, the comprehensive approach to raw-material processing and the efficient utilization of treatment equipment, apparatus and control instruments. Great responsibility falls on the expertise organs which must see to it that plans for the building and reconstruction of enterprises include proper measures for the protection of the land, the subsoil, the water, the air and the animal and vegetable worlds.

The communist party and the Soviet government call for waging a decisive struggle against violations such as the acceptance of enterprises in their various stages and projects by the various state commissions, lacking planned treatment facilities. We must emphasize that treatment facilities are one of the important links in the basic technological production process

rather than a secondary and additional project which could or could not be installed. The treatment facilities must be completed together with the enterprise, thus ensuring the reliable protection of the environment from pollution. The design organizations must strengthen their authorship supervision over the prompt installation and commissioning of treatment equipment and its reliable operation, as stipulated in the blueprints.

The elimination of such shortcomings within a short time will enable us considerably to improve the condition of the air and water in many cities and industrial centers without additional expenditures.

Ministries, departments, enterprises and organizations are responsible for the strict observance of environmental protection legislation and the prompt and qualitative implementation of planned environmental protection assignments. The control organs under the jurisdiction of the State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control, USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, USSR Ministry of Agriculture, USSR Ministry of Fish Industry, USSR State Committee for Forestry, USSR State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and for Mine Supervision, USSR Ministry of Health and USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs must struggle against violations of environmental protection legislation in accordance with the rights that have been granted in this respect.

The local party and soviet organs must increase their supervision over the implementation of party and government decisions on problems of environmental protection and rational utilization of natural resources. They must hold more strictly accountable managers of enterprises and organizations who allow air, water and soil pollution and fail to take the necessary measures to ensure the economical use of raw materials and production waste. The public must be involved in the solution of these important problems more extensively.

The historical development of means for environmental protection from industrial pollution has followed the path of building treatment installations with considerable success. However, such installations have not always made it possible to achieve the necessary level of treatment and have been quite expensive. Even if extensively applied, such treatment installations do not entirely resolve the problem of protecting the biosphere from the harmful influence of steadily developing industry or production. This problem can be successfully resolved only through the creation of ecologically safe, low-waste and (wherever possible) waste-free technological processes. This precisely is the principle on which natural ecological systems operate, which economically spend matter and energy and in which the waste caused by some organisms is the habitat of others.

Wasteless technology enables us to make fuller use of mineral raw materials. Mineral extraction in our country is increasing at a high rate but no more than an insignificant share of the processed raw materials is converted into finished products. The rest is returned to the environment as waste, but already changed, polluting it increasingly. As a result of the noncomprehensive processing of raw materials at some enterprises substantial quantities of products needed by the national economy are dumped. Not all

possibilities of utilizing useful substances contained in industrial waste in the air and the water are used. The partial use of natural resources leads to their exhaustion. Therefore, at the present stage of economic and social development of our country, the elaboration and use of low-waste or wasteless technologies become the main strategic direction in environmental protection. This enables us to reduce or entirely to exclude environmental pollution and to ensure the extensive and comprehensive processing of prime raw materials and industrial waste and to obtain additional commodities. "The topical nature of such tasks," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, "is related to the fact that it is a question of nonrecoverable resources. We are responsible for their proper and thrifty utilization not only to the present but the future generations as well. No one has the right to forget this."

The study of the achievements of scientific and technical progress indicates that possibilities of applying new technologies exist in virtually all industrial sectors. A great deal has already been and is being done in this respect. For example, during the 11th Five-Year Plan low-waste technology for direct steel smelting from metallized pellets will be applied at the Oskolskiy electrical metallurgical combine during the 11th Five-Year Plan. Systems for dressing sulfide raw materials in a liquid bath with the use of sulfur, which will exclude the dumping of sulfurous anhydride in the atmosphere and will make it possible considerably to increase the productivity of the smelting process, will be applied at the Balkhash and Norilsk ore mining-metallurgical combines of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy. The blueprint for the chemical plant at the Komsomolsk-na-Amure calls for progressive wasteless technology for the production of boric acid, making full use of granulated boron-gypsum in construction instead of natural gypsum. A new method for the electrochemical oxidizing of diacetonesorbose in the production of ascorbic acid will be applied at the Yerevan and the Yoshkar-Ola vitamins plants of the Ministry of Medical Industry, which will eliminate waste manganese dioxide and yield considerable economic results. The Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production uses polluted condensate, which forms in the evaporation of saltpeter solution, for the production of ammonium saltpeter. This condensate is used as an absorbent of the liquid in the scrubbers which tap the dust from the granulation towers, after which it is reevaporated. Such a closed cycle made it possible to eliminate the treatment of the condensate and pumping it into the sewer system.

Similar examples may be found in other industrial sectors. However, this is insufficient. In order to implement the resolutions of the 26th party congress, the November 1981 and May 1982 CPSU Central Committee plenums and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions on further upgrading economic effectiveness, we must accelerate the development and application of new technological processes and ensure the more efficient and economic utilization of natural resources.

Steam-gas systems with gasification of solid fuel and fluidized-bed boilers, highly effective gold-tapping systems for powerful boilers, and steam generators which can ensure the maximal suppression of nitrogen oxides must be applied more rapidly in the electric power industry. The USSR Ministry of



Power and Electrification must accelerate the completion of the experimental industrial system at the Dorogobuzh GRES in order to develop a technology for the treatment of released sulfurous anhydride gases resulting in the production of sulfuric acid.

A number of technological steps must be taken in ferrous metallurgy to reduce the dumping of nitrogen oxides in fuel combustion in metallurgical units and heating furnaces. More extensive use will be made of highly efficient methods for the elimination of hydrogen sulfide from coke gases. The metallurgical enterprises release in the air substantial amounts of graphite-containing dust. In this connection, the elaboration and application of efficient systems, which would make it possible to prevent the pollution of the atmosphere with such dust and make use of the graphite is an important technical assignment. Substantial waste containing cobalt, zinc, sulfur, and some other valuable substances is being dumped in the development of the Sokolovo-Sarbay iron ore deposit. The comprehensive treatment of this raw material would provide us with additional economic resources.

The sector makes insufficient use of the slag which is a good raw material for the production of cement, pumice, mineral cotton and other materials. The experience of plants such as the one in Novolipetsk, Azovstal' and Zhdanov imeni Il'ich is being disseminated too slowly. Here all the slag from blast and steel-smelting furnaces is processed and there are virtually no slag dumps. Meanwhile, between 40 and 60 percent of the slag from the blast furnaces and the entire amount from the steel-smelting furnaces at the Karaganda metallurgical combine, the West Siberian metallurgical plant and many other enterprises is dumped. The USSR Ministry of Construction Materials Industry must participate more actively in taking steps aimed at further increasing the amount of slag processing.

In nonferrous metallurgy we must accelerate the installation of more advanced autogenic processes which will enable us sharply to reduce the volume of waste gases, flash smelting, liquid-bath smelting for nickel production, oxygen-torch smelting, liquid-bath smelting for copper production, and oxygen-flash cyclone electrothermal technology for copper-zinc, lead and lead-zinc ore processing. The aluminum industry dumps contain more than 80 million tons of red slag which forms in the production of alumina, the volume of which is increasing by 5.5-6 million tons every year. Such slag can be efficiently used in brick production. Its processing can also yield additional amounts of cement, iron and other products. The USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy should pay greater attention to the solution of these problems.

In the chemical industry a major step could be taken in the development of wasteless technology in the production of caustic soda and chlorine with the use of diaphragm electrolyzers. This will enable us to eliminate the use of mercury in the technological process and thus to improve the environment.

The Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production should master more rapidly the processing of phosphogypsum, which is formed in the production of phosphorus fertilizers. Substantial quantities of this substance have already accumulated and are growing at the rate of 12 million tons per year. This will

require additional storage areas and will increase the danger of groundwater pollution. In particular, we must speed up the solution of problems related to mastering the production of sulfuric acid from phosphogypsum and the use of the latter in construction and agriculture.

In the petroleum industry serious attention should be paid to the problem of the fuller extraction of the petroleum from the ground by improving development systems and applying more extensively new methods for influencing petroleum-bearing strata. The USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry should be supplied with equipment for ground storage areas for petroleum products with floating covers, for currently substantial quantities of the most valuable fractions of this hydrocarbon fuel are evaporated in containers without such covers. This sector can also increase the processing of lubricants from production waste--the production of acid tar into asphalt for road construction purposes. In the natural gas industry the efficient use of natural resources can be achieved through the comprehensive processing of the extracted raw material and the use of all resulting components, including released hydrocarbons for the production of diesel fuel, and the processing of gas condensate for the manufacturing of nonethyl automotive gasoline and other types of fuel.

The application of progressive methods of oxygen-soda cooking and oxygen-caustic bleaching of cellulose, which will enable us to reduce air and water pollution, could be quite effective in the cellulose-paper industry. Every year the timber and timber-processing industry forms dozens of millions of cubic meters of waste which could be economically profitable for processing and about 18 million cubic meters of bark, the decay of which harms the environment. Progressive sectorial enterprises (the Kotlas and Solikamsk cellulose-paper combines, the Prikarpatles Association, the Kirovlesprom Association and others) provide good examples of low-waste production. In the country at large, however, many unused reserves remain. In particular, we are poorly developing the processing of wood bark for the production of valuable tanning extracts, pressed bark and wood tiles, briquets for burning, and fertilizers. The meat and dairy industries discard substantial amounts of waste, the harm of which is considerably greater than that of raw sewage. The USSR Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry should speed up the solution of the problem of processing and rendering such waste harmless.

However, a number of industrial ministries, whose enterprises are sources of environmental pollution, are still insufficiently involved in the development and application of low-waste or wasteless technological processes, although they were issued such instructions on the basis of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees of 1972 and 1978. Very little has been accomplished in this respect in recent years. To this day some ministries are not planning the use of progressive technologies in the construction of new and reconstruction of operating enterprises. In order to reduce the air, water and soil pollution with discarded matter from such enterprises capital investments are made in the building of expensive treatment installations, which is not always efficient. The party committees must provide very close supervision over such matters.

Scientific research projects on environmental protection and rational utilization of natural resources, included in the plans of industrial sectors, are not always oriented toward the development of low-waste or wasteless technologies. Specialists from academic institutions or sectorial scientific research, design and engineering organizations are still insufficiently participating in their development. In a number of cases the development, experimental-industrial testing and application of new technologies take place without a unified comprehensive plan and drag for years on end. Problems of ensuring the comprehensive processing of raw materials of intersectorial nature are being resolved with particular difficulty.

The industrial ministries must undertake more extensively to deal with the problem of developing technological processes in accordance with contemporary ecological requirements, water recycling and comprehensive processing of raw materials and production waste. They must direct to the solution of such most important problems the attention of leading technologists, designers and planners in their subordinate organizations and involve more extensively in this work scientists from academic institutions. The ministries should receive comprehensive assistance in resolving such problems on the part of the USSR Gosplan, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The CPSU Central Committee May 1982 plenum noted that the implementation of the Food Program, as the most important component of the party's economic strategy over the next decade, presumes the further development of agricultural production forces. No other public production sector is so closely related to the problem of environmental protection and rational utilization of nature as agricultural output. The USSR Food Program stipulates that "the application and mastery of scientific farming systems must be ensured on the basis of specific natural-economic conditions." This presumes, among others, the comprehensive reclamation of the land and its agricultural development, and reaching the planned crop yields on irrigated and drained land. The Food Program stipulates that "we must begin with the reconstruction of existing irrigation and draining systems with a view to upgrading the productivity of reclaimed land." We must also implement a set of measures to protect the soil from wind and water erosion, ensure the rehabilitation of disturbed land and protect the plants on the basis of the scientific utilization of chemicals.

In the food and meat and dairy industries the enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry, USSR Ministry of Procurement, USSR Ministry of Light Industry, Tsentosoyuz and a number of other ministries and departments engaged in processing agricultural commodities, must intensify their work on the use of low-waste and (wherever possible) wasteless technological processes, in order to eliminate losses of raw materials and secondary resources and reduce the amount of harmful substances dumped in the environment.

The implementation of measures for the protection of rivers, water reservoirs and seas from pollution will enable us to increase fish production. The

preservation and reproduction of forests will increase procurements of soft fruits, nuts, mushrooms, game and other gifts of nature. In the course of the implementation of the Food Program and related environmental protection measures, each republic, kray, oblast, rayon, economic sector and town and country labor collective must make its maximal contribution.

Forests are an important component of the biosphere. The huge areas in the country covered in vegetation are a priceless resource. This resource must be used thriftily. We must ensure its reproduction, reduce timber-processing losses, expand protective forest cultivation, develop new and improve existing green areas in the cities and settlements and around them, and improve the protection of forests from fires.

Our country has 136 state reservations and reservation-hunting farms, seven national parks, and a large number of republic and local preserves. During the 11th Five-Year Plan the establishment of a scientific network of preserved territories and national parks will be continued. Work will go on to balance the increased amount of game and the reproduction of valuable fish strains in natural and man-made water reservoirs.

In accordance with the party's course of enhancing further the well-being of the Soviet people, a variety of forms of cultural services to the population have been actively developed. Not only labor but living, recreation and health recovery conditions for the working people are being improved. This is also the purpose of the expansion and development of recreation areas, health recovery complexes, tourist bases, and so on. Environmental protection activities in terms of such projects must be consistent with contemporary requirements. It is precisely in this area that we must adopt stricter measures in controlling the environment.

Scientific and technical propaganda and the dissemination of environmental protection knowledge among the population are important in improving the human habitat. Suitable materials on environmental protection and rational utilization of nature are being systematically carried by the central and local press. During the past decade more than 3,500 book titles and pamphlets were published in our country on this topic in more than 44 million copies; about 100 feature, popular science and documentary motion pictures were made. Environmental protection problems are steadily discussed in the programs of the Central Radio Broadcasting and Television. Propaganda through lectures is becoming increasingly widespread. Thus, last year lecturers from the Knowledge All-Union Society delivered to the population more than 450,000 lectures on environmental protection subjects. Substantial work is being done by the republic environmental protection societies. The All-Russian Society for Environmental Protection alone has more than 34 million members. The Leninist Komsomol and other public organizations are actively participating in environmental protection measures. The "Blue Patrol" detachments and school forestry wardens, and the sponsoring of other interesting trips and operations related to the preservation of the flora and fauna help to develop in the growing generation a feeling of love for and a protective attitude toward nature.

However, ecological upbringing and the education of the broad masses must be improved further. Reports reaching us from different areas show cases of disrespectful attitudes toward nature on the part of some groups of young people and failure to understand the importance of environmental protection measures on the part of some economic managers. The problem of optimizing the interaction between society and nature cannot be resolved through the efforts of a limited number of state organs. Environmental protection is a national concern. It must involve all units of the economic mechanism, all participants in public production and all population strata. The task is to involve as many citizens of our country as possible in becoming knowledgeably concerned with environmental protection, the reproduction of the vegetal and animal worlds, the rational utilization of all natural resources and participation in the struggle for the purity of the air, water and soil. A careful attitude toward nature and the preservation of its beauty and multiplication of its resources are the noble project and high civic duty of everyone. Unquestionably, under the leadership of the communist party, the Soviet people will do everything possible to ensure the successful implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress in the field of environmental protection and the rational use of nature.

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## PROBLEMS OF PLANNING RECONSTRUCTION AND TECHNICAL RETOOLING

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[Article by G. Serov, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Gosplan]

[Text] The reconstruction and technical retooling of enterprises and, on this basis, the utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, are among the most important reserves for intensification and upgrading public production efficiency. The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period through 1990" stipulate the following: "Capital investments must be channeled above all into the reconstruction and technical retooling of enterprises and the completion of initiated projects. The building of new and expansion of existing enterprises must be initiated whenever the needs of the national economy for any specific type of output cannot be ensured by increasing the use of production capacities following their reconstruction and technical retooling." The task set by the 26th CPSU Congress of increasing the efficiency of capital investments makes it incumbent upon the enterprises considerably to expand the scale of technical retooling and reconstruction of existing production facilities, to reequip them with new highly effective equipment and to apply progressive technology and a scientific organization of labor.

### I

The advantages of reconstruction compared with new construction are unquestionable. As one of the forms of expanded reconstruction, reconstruction and technical retooling of existing enterprises mean above all the updating and qualitative improvement of existing labor tools and upgrading the technical facilities of existing enterprises on the basis of production automation and mechanization consistent with the requirements of scientific and technical progress.

Well aware of such advantages, the Belorussian SSR Gosplan is steadily directing the efforts of ministries and departments in the allocation of capital investments for measures related to technical retooling. This process begins with the study of the technical level of existing production, the identification of bottlenecks at enterprises and defining the possibilities of rationally utilizing areas and capacities of existing production buildings in order to install more productive equipment and new assembly lines and conveyor belts.

Such preplanning work is done by enterprise specialists, designers and technologists in sectorial design and technological bureaus. After completing their computations and determining the fact that technical retooling will ensure the growth rate of output as stipulated by the planning organs, the enterprise submits a request for capital for plant projects and for planning organization. With the help of the design-research department of the USSR Gosplan, the republic's Gosplan followed by the sectorial departments resolve such problems. While planning documentation is being drafted, the managers of enterprises and the personnel of the sectorial Gosplan departments find the necessary capital investments for the implementation of the project. Great difficulties appear on the stage of coordinating planned decisions with the contracting construction organization. They are frequently resolved with the help of the leading republic organs. The final problems deal with obtaining equipment funds (also quite difficult) and hiring a contracting construction organization whose plan will include the reconstruction project. It is only after all of these stages have been surmounted that, with the help of Gosplan personnel, the enterprises can resolve their technical retooling problems, achieve positive results in economic activities and upgrade the efficiency of their productive capital.

The reconstruction carried out by the Minsk Order of Lenin Worsted Combine provides a convincing example of this. Here reconstruction was used instead of traditional expansion and new shop construction. The work was based on a specific schedule. Thus, the reconstruction and technical retooling of the spinning facility took no more than 3 years. This increased production capacity by 8 million square meters of woolen fabrics. The spinning and weaving equipment was updated within a short time. Outlays totaled slightly over 27 million rubles, or 19 kopeks per ruble of increased output, or half as much as the sectorial average. These newly developed capacities were mastered ahead of schedule, as a result of which capital investments were recovered in 1.9 years. Labor productivity at the enterprise increased by more than 50 percent. The more than 3,000 workers who were released were hired at the newly built enterprises within the same sector.

Technical progress in all economic sectors has largely predetermined the need for retooling the construction industry. A combat-capable and technically equipped construction organization is needed in order to implement new projects in any material production sector. Aware of this fact, the Belorussian SSR Gosplan and Gosstroy, together with the construction ministries, began to look for ways to ensure higher technical construction standards. As a result, the Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee and the republic's government drafted and adopted decrees and measures stipulating deadlines for the elaboration of new types of structures and technological processes and the manufacturing of highly productive machinery, mechanisms, instruments and attachments. Specific measures were earmarked to improve the working and living conditions of construction workers. Bearing in mind the insufficient amount of funds appropriated for the creation of new enterprises in the construction industry, it was decided actively to undertake the reconstruction of basic plants producing construction structures and items.

The republic's Gosplan found the possibility to appropriate capital for the planned reconstruction, while the Ministry of Finance provided the necessary funds. The collectives of the Orgtekhstroy trust and the design-technology bureau actively participated in the preparations and implementation of the measures. Problems related to the manufacturing of nonstandardized equipment and fittings by the machine-building enterprises in the republic were resolved with the help of the various departments of the Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee and Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers. Enterprise specialists undertook the installation and tuning of the new conveyor belts and assembly lines. All this enabled the plant workers to master the equipment and technology properly by the time the new systems had been installed and quickly reach their planned capacity. As a result of reconstruction and technical retooling at the Orsha Reinforced Concrete Structures Combine, the capacity of its enterprises increased from 140,000 to 190,000 cubic meters of reinforced concrete goods. Specific outlays per increased unit of power--cubic meter--totaled 60 rubles compared with the sectorial average of 94 rubles. Therefore, more than 1.5 million rubles were saved in capital investments. At the same time, labor conditions were improved, profitability is rising and labor productivity has increased by 9 percent. Similar results will be achieved at the currently reconstructed Mogilev Reinforced Concrete Structures Plant and the Bobruysk Plant for Construction Parts. In the latter plant production capacity will be increased by more than 100,000 cubic meters and specific capital investments per unit of growth will be lowered down to 55-60 rubles.

The republic's Ministry of Local Industry is doing extensive work for the technical retooling of enterprises. In order to increase the production of consumer goods the Bobruysk and Slonim Factories for Artistic Products were reconstructed during the 10th Five-Year Plan. Outlays for the reconstruction of the Bobruysk Factory slightly exceeded 1 million rubles while production increased by 2.3 million. The creation of new capacities would have required capital investments of 1.82 million rubles. Furthermore, the reconstruction was completed in less time than new construction. More advanced technological processes were applied, labor productivity increased and production quality improved.

The Vitebsk Work Clothing Factory in Vitebsk will be reconstructed during the 11th Five-Year Plan. The cost of reconstruction will total 2.9 million rubles, while output will increase by 12.7 million. The construction of another such factory would cost 9.9 million rubles.

The advantages of reconstruction and technical retooling are confirmed particularly convincingly by the development of the KPD-1 Plant of the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Industrial Construction Production Association for Industrial House Building in Minsk. In 1962 this was the first enterprise of its kind to reach its planned capacity of 140,000 square meters of housing area. A number of steps were taken during the 8th and 9th Five-Year Plans for the reconstruction and technical retooling of basic and auxiliary production facilities. A two-deck mill for the production of complex panel lining, and a conveyor for the manufacturing of outside wall panels were installed; cassette systems were converted from six to eight sections and a



conveyor belt for the production of loggia floors was installed. As a result in 1976 the plant's production capacity totaled 375,000 square meters of general area, which required an investment of about 2.5 million rubles. The installation of such capacities through new construction would have required capital investments in excess of 10 million rubles and the additional hiring of 600-700 workers. In actual terms, the size of the industrial personnel increased by 289 people, commodity output increased by a factor of 1.5, basic productive capital by a factor of 1.38 and capital returns by 10 percent between 1970 and 1980.

Reconstruction and technical retooling call for the use of a number of non-standardized structures and reinforced concrete items and, consequently, the reorganization of existing or the creation of new capacities in the construction industry. Our republic alone needs more than 400 million rubles for building new enterprises in the construction industry. Instead, we are being allocated less than one-half that amount. How to resolve the problem? We decided to conduct a certification of existing plants which number in our republic more than 120. We determined the possibility of their reconstruction and identified production bottlenecks. On this basis we formulated a plan which called for the conversion of the enterprises to a new flexible technology which would ensure their reorganization for the production of contemporary types of structures and goods. The implementation of these measures will enable us to increase output by 1.5 million cubic meters, to improve production technology and standards and upgrade quality. Labor productivity will increase by 25-30 percent. Annual savings will exceed more than 80,000 tons of cement and 70,000 tons of fuel, while specific capital investments per increased unit capacity will average 61 rubles instead of 94 rubles as normed. Furthermore, in the course of the technical retooling of the sector, steps will be taken to ensure the specializing of the enterprises and, on this basis, to increase the volume of output of construction structures, which will enable us to meet the needs of the republic. On a parallel basis, we shall implement a system of optimal haulage of reinforced concrete items, thus reducing transportation costs.

The plans for the reconstruction and technical retooling assign an important place to designing and applying low-waste and wasteless technological processes, which increase the possibility of organizing the comprehensive processing of raw materials and utilization of recycled energy resources. This will also enable us to lower the pollution level in the air, water and soil caused by harmful effluents. Thus, in the reconstruction of the kaprolaktam shop at the Azot Production Association, in increasing production capacity more productive gas and dust-tapping systems were installed and sources of atmospheric pollution caused by released gases from the production of ammonium nitrate were eliminated.

## II

The experience of the Belorussian SSR in the reconstruction and technical retooling of existing enterprises proves that under the existing procedure of planning the reproduction of productive capital existing possibilities of upgrading the efficiency of the investment process remain unused. We must

improve the scientific and methodological substantiation of the plan for capital investments in reconstruction and technical retooling; new normative indicators and coefficients must be developed to compensate for the outlays incurred by all the participants in the reconstruction, guaranteeing the material incentive of designers, construction workers and customers; we must determine the leading factors which form the capital intensiveness of reconstruction. This will enable us to develop specific measures for each variant for the fullest possible utilization of the opportunities included in the reconstruction process itself for lowering specific capital investments and the development and establishment of norms of specific outlays for the creation of projects for the social infrastructure, based on the increased new capacities and savings on construction funds. This will also enable us to resolve the problem of developing machines and mechanisms which take into consideration the specific nature of the reconstruction under the conditions of an operating enterprise and to take steps to improve the organizational structure of the contracting organizations and the updating of their construction base.

One of the most important factors in the intensification of public production at the current stage of economic development is the process of improving the structure of capital investments and the updating of enterprise productive capital through reconstruction. This enables us to accelerate the pace of improvements of the technical and production structure.

Despite all the advantages of reconstruction and the fact that the heads of production associations (enterprises) have been given the right to approve within the allocated amounts their own lists of projects for technical retooling, regardless of the overall cost of the work, the amount of capital investments in technical retooling has not increased in most economic sectors on Belorussian territory. No more than one-third of appropriated capital investments are being used for such purposes. In other words, faced with the choice of building a new enterprise or retooling an old one, as a rule preference is given to new construction.

The stability of this situation is explained mainly with the imperfection of the existing procedure used in planning and assessing economic and financial activities of construction and design organizations and industrial enterprises. The current planning system does not take into consideration the interests of the other participants in the investment process. Thus, the construction workers are by far more interested in building new capacities than renovating old ones. This is explained by the fact that in reconstructing an operating enterprise the organization of the work and construction output are considerably more difficult. The use of a variety of machines and mechanisms available in their traditional forms and parameters is limited. This entails an increased volume of manual labor and of auxiliary operations. The technical retooling of existing enterprises sharply changes the structure of construction operations. Work on basic and material-intensive structures of buildings and installations is reduced by a factor of 2 or 3 and the volume of internal operations such as foundations, roofs, partitions, floors and doorways expands by the same amount. While the overall need for materials decreases the need for individually manufactured items and structures increases.

Such changes in the structure of construction work (advantageous to the state) creates a situation under which the basic indicators in assessing the economic and financial activities of the construction workers worsen. The average output--labor productivity--drops by 20-30 percent while wages, conversely, increase by as much, and in some sectors, even more. Correspondingly, per diem expenditures increase and economic incentive funds decrease with the entire consequences which this entails.

The study of the work of many organizations participating in the reconstruction and technical retooling of existing enterprises indicates that correcting sectorial coefficients applicable to current cost norms and per diem expenditures, established by the USSR Gosstroy, do not cover all outlays which arise in carrying out reconstruction projects.

Thus, the Minsk Industrial Construction Construction-Installation Association of the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Industrial Construction is among the largest of its kind in the sector. During the 10th Five-Year Plan the share of operations for the reconstruction and technical retooling of existing production facilities increased by one-half and accounted for about 30 percent of its entire volume of work. As a result of the implementation of this program the state and the customer sector saved more than 5 million rubles. What did the construction association obtain? Higher outlays. Output per worker declined by 25 percent and profitability declined by a factor of 8. As a result the material incentive fund declined by a factor of 9.

Furthermore, having ensured the growth of new capacities, the enterprises are not always granted the necessary funds for housing construction and socio-cultural and consumer measures. Realizing that the planning and implementation of technical retooling is incomplete and does not take into consideration the reciprocal interests of the parties, managers of departments, enterprises and construction organizations do everything possible to avoid the inclusion in the work plan projects related to reconstruction and technical retooling.

The design organizations as well are not interested in doing their share of work in such projects. Bearing in mind the extensive labor-intensiveness and complexity of designing under the conditions of an operating production facility, they frequently try to substantiate the economic inexpediency of technical retooling and reconstruction and suggest that existing production facilities be expanded or new plants be built, for in their case as well the cost of the project is the determining indicator in assessing their work. This depends on the category of the institute, personnel wages and other material benefits. As a rule, designing new construction is more expensive than designing a plan for technical retooling. Furthermore, the implementation of planned reconstruction and technical retooling is more difficult than designing an edition of a standardized project built on a free area or with minor spatial limitations.

During the reconstruction period the industrial enterprises-customers and the sector as a whole have substantial expenditures. Within that period their volume of output drops (with rare exceptions, should they have substantial

reserves). Labor productivity declines and, therefore, so do wages. The rate of output drops, as a result of which withholdings for the economic incentive fund decline and labor and marketing conditions worsen.

All of this, put together, disturbs the stable work of the collective and lowers the quality of output. Although this is a temporary phenomenon, it may last several years. The sector as well finds itself in a difficult situation: there is no clarity on the subject of deliveries of the necessary technological equipment and of some special materials. In a word, the existing practice used in planning and assessing the activities of construction and design organizations and industrial and scientific institutions does not sufficiently take into consideration the structural changes which take place in the course of the reconstruction and technical retooling processes and have an obstructing effect on them.

A selective investigation of projects and technical and economic substantiations (TEO) related to the reconstruction of existing enterprises have indicated that some ministries and departments plan along with reconstruction the expansion of enterprises to which they add extensive new production areas and the auxiliary and administrative buildings. This increases the share of the cost of construction and installation work and reduces capital returns. Clearly, the state expert agency and the sectorial ministries and departments should investigate all reconstruction plans, guided by methodical instructions which determine the procedure for classifying types and natures of construction and installation projects as new construction or reconstruction.

We believe that with a view to further improving the system of planning and reconstruction, the plan for technical retooling must become a flexible instrument balanced against the production possibilities and sectorial assignments both in terms of output and the allocation of resources and equipment.

Here again the close cooperation between groups planning reconstruction and the planning groups at industrial enterprises and design organizations is particularly important. Their plans, coordinated in terms of the time for interrupting some production operations, the gathering of initial design data and, subsequently, preparations for construction output would enable us to implement the reconstruction objectives within optimal deadlines. It is very important for the territorial and sectorial planning organs to develop coordinated requirements regarding power and water consumption, to determine outlays for the reconstruction of general engineering and transportation facilities, to determine the reserve sources for covering energy requirements, to consider the influence of reconstruction on related areas and territorial infrastructures, and to formulate optimal functional-technological solutions related to favorable working and living conditions, environmental protection and maximal utilization of secondary resources.

### III

Plans which take into consideration real possibilities must be drafted with a view to interesting all participants in the reconstruction and technical retooling of existing enterprises in speeding up this process during the

period required for such operations, for this requires the idling of equipment and conveyor belts as well as various parts of the production process. It is very important to observe the strict observance of the coordinated schedule for construction and installation operations and the implementation of the production plan by the enterprise.

In order not to harm economic interests, the volume of industrial output not produced by the enterprise undergoing reconstruction could be taken over for a while by related associations or enterprises. All ministries and departments have such possibilities, some of which are substantial. This is clearly confirmed by the low shift coefficient of equipment and the equally low percentage of utilization of planned capacity in many sectors and their enterprises. For example, the shift coefficient for basic production at the enterprises of the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances, located on the territory of the republic, is 1.4 for basic production and the equipment is used at 92 percent of capacity. At the Bresttekstil'mash Plant installed capacities are used by less than one-half while the shift coefficient remains at a very low level. The shift coefficient at the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry does not exceed 1.6 and the equipment is used at 88 percent of capacity. At the Luninets plant for the production of electric motors for agriculture of that ministry the shift coefficient is 1.2 while only about 60 percent of the equipment's capacity is used. Despite all this, the sectorial ministries ask for capital investments for new construction.

In our view a sectorial ministry could maneuver manpower and material resources by directing them to use reserve capacities and thus ensuring the output. Thus, in the reconstruction of many plants the volume of output declines, direct relations are disturbed and consumers justifiably complain. Meanwhile, the respective ministries could organize at similar enterprises the production of the same type of equipment, not to mention the fact that the sector frequently underutilizes capacities as a result of the scarcity of skilled specialists.

Would it not be possible for the ministry to transfer from the plant undergoing reconstruction 100 to 200 people who, as a rule, are employed in a variety of operations while the production system is idling, to an enterprise with reserve capacities and to organize the production of goods needed by the national economy? Naturally, this is possible but is troublesome. Furthermore, other problems arise: the lack of conditions for the acceptance of additional manpower, worker housing, and so on, although all such difficulties can be surmounted if their solution is undertaken at the proper time. The sectorial ministries and territorial planning and management organs must anticipate and resolve such problems, for enterprise reconstruction and technical retooling fully determine the responsibility of enterprise and association managers for the prompt implementation of technical retooling operations and the fast mastery of newly created capacities. This determines the end work results of the collective; in new construction the main responsibility for the commissioning of capacities is assumed by the construction organizations, for they are financed out of "free" capital investments. Unfortunately, however, instead of upgrading the efficiency of the operating

enterprises, many managers ask for new construction, hoping that they will be allowed to hire more manpower for the new capacities and given capital investments for the development of a nonproduction (social) infrastructure.

In order to block and subsequently entirely eliminate this process, during the reconstruction period the collective of the enterprise must retain its actual incentive funds and benefits on the level of the year preceding the reconstruction, for any decline in the plan lowers the amount of funds appropriated for incentive purposes; enterprises and design organizations must be allowed to recruit highly skilled and experienced specialists among the engineers of the facility undergoing reconstruction in participating in the development of the cost estimate documentation and, in their eventual transfer as design personnel for the period of the drafting of the technical documentation, be paid a wage differential by the enterprise; the customer must be issued increased funds, taking into consideration the coefficient of increased costs. They may be allowed to pay for such work out of basic activity funds, including bank loans, in which case designers will receive a certain number of workers and a wage fund from the enterprise. In order to eliminate the creation of all kinds of obstructions in the reconstructed enterprise, the USSR Gosplan and Gossnab and the sectorial ministry should allocate specific equipment and necessary material and technical resources. In the course of reconstruction done by the enterprise itself, the enterprise should be allowed funds with which to rent construction machinery and mechanisms from organizations possessing such equipment and to recruit construction specialists as consultants in managing reconstruction operations. It would be expedient to take funds with which to pay for such services out of the reconstruction account or the general fund.

As a rule, the design and engineering organizations undertake reconstruction projects either in addition to their plan or on a nonplanned basis. Naturally, they are not interested in such work and do everything possible to avoid it. However, the situation radically changes the moment they are allowed to design an overall reconstruction project. This could make possible the hiring of highly skilled specialists from enterprises and design-technological bureaus and extend to such personnel all the rules observed by design organizations.

The construction and installation organizations as well are unwilling to engage in reconstruction, for according to the current wage system payments for such work are low considering their increased complexity and low volume of capital investments. In this case we should establish a procedure according to which the coefficient of the increased cost of construction and installation work would be based on a contract signed between the customer and the contracting construction and design organizations within the limits stipulated by decision of the USSR Gosstroy. As to the funds needed to meet the additional outlays caused by the more labor-intensive but less capital-intensive reconstruction operations, they could come from the savings from reducing the cost of each unit of growth of capacity.

In order to increase the material incentive of the collectives a procedure could be established according to which the contracting construction and

installation organizations whose annual plans would include the reconstruction of more than 25 projects--which is the basic norm--would receive increased payments for the economic incentive fund equaling 1.5 percent per each percentage of above-plan amount of work. It would be also useful to allow them to conclude contracts for leasing additional construction machines and mechanisms to enterprises undertaking reconstruction on their own, and to consider these amounts as part of the fulfillment of their plans along with other projects.

We must also improve the procedure governing the allocation of funds for the building of housing and sociocultural projects. In the case of new construction up to 20 percent of the total funds are allocated for such purposes. In the case of reconstruction such funds are substantially lower. This not only adversely affects the social and living conditions of the labor collective but weakens their desire to carry out such projects and to make their work highly productive.

It is high time for the USSR Gosplan and Gosstroy to issue correcting coefficients which would compensate in full for the outlays incurred by the participants in the reconstruction project. On the basis of our experience, in order to make an enterprise interested, the figure of such coefficients should range between 1.2 and 1.3. If the cost of reconstruction design is no less than that of designing a unit of capacity of new construction, this would even the economic conditions between the two projects. So far, reconstruction design work is losing compared to new construction.

It is also time to base the plan for the labor and profit of the construction organizations according to the structure of the construction and installation projects, taking into consideration the increased volume of reconstruction and technical retooling work. This rule should be extended also to the computation of stable norms governing the formation of incentive funds.

The specialists and managers working at many successfully reconstructed enterprises believe that matters can only benefit if they themselves are assigned to manage reconstruction work at special sectors, technological lines and conveyor belts, for they are more familiar than others with the technical standards of the existing type of production and its possibilities, and are interested more than others in speeding up the retooling of their enterprise. It is precisely they who should be given the right to hire designers in drafting proper reconstruction and technical retooling projects and to allow payments for such work to be made out of the enterprise's basic activities funds.

Obviously, in order to encourage the initiative of the enterprises, the sectorial ministries should set up and have a reserve of material resources and technological equipment, so that in the course of the year they could be allocated for the fast implementation of efficient technical retooling decisions. Based on personal experience, we firmly believe that high results in production activities are achieved wherever the manufacturers themselves install and tune up the technological equipment. This makes it possible to meet the most important requirement--the manufacturing of the equipment in

accordance with the planned parameters--and only after that would its delivery to the state acceptance commission be allowed. Such a procedure would upgrade the responsibility of the manufacturing plants for the timely and qualitative delivery of each unit of equipment and technological line and would force them to put together, to assemble and to install the equipment within the plant rather than at the construction site, frequently under unrealistic circumstances as is currently the case. The absence of such a procedure forces the construction and installation organizations and the customers to use substantial manpower in carrying out the finishing operations every year. Thus, at Belorussian construction projects alone every year more than 1,000 highly skilled specialists become involved in such projects. Furthermore, despite improved specialization in machine building, outlays for finishing operations keep increasing as a result of the lack of coordination among suppliers. Obviously, the special services of the general contractors could be of great help. They would combine the efforts of the different enterprises within the sector and would be directly responsible to the national economy for the installation of the technological part of the installed capacities, i.e., for the end product.

The study of our experience indicates that the current technical standards reached in construction output are inadequate if the steadily growing amount of reconstruction is to be carried out on a highly efficient basis. This is due to the fact that the production process does not stand idle but goes on. Meanwhile, the construction workers remain idle while waiting for the machines and equipment of the production process under way to come to a stop. Under such circumstances they do not have adequate room to maneuver or freedom of action. They are not allowed to use any pieces of machinery, such as those requiring fire or welding. Nor could they engage in various types of operation because of noise, vibrations and temperature variations at their workplaces. The use of protective facilities and masks becomes more difficult.

Furthermore, in the course of reconstruction construction processes such as monolithic concrete pouring, breakdown of old structures, and earth removal work within buildings and in basements, as is the case with repairing and relaying engineering facilities, are of major and frequently decisive importance. Machines and mechanisms routinely used in industrial construction, such as excavators and transportation and loading machines, become limited in such cases. Although such machinery has proved its usefulness in new construction projects and open construction sites in which no restrictions are imposed on their use, they are poorly adapted to work in enclosed premises and in some cases cannot be used at all. For example, the Kovrov, Voronezh, Kostroma and Tashkent excavator plants, the Dormashina Association in Kharkov, the Chelyabinsk Road-Building Machinery Plant imeni Kolyushchenko, the Drogobych plant for automotive cranes and the Odessa Heavy Crane Manufacturing Association imeni Yanvarskoye Vosstaniya produce excellent construction machines and mechanisms for work in the European part of the country. However, the use of such machines and mechanisms become impossible after foundations have been dug, a machine tool has been installed or new equipment has been assembled in operating enterprise shops or, even if their use is possible, the basic production process must come to a stop to which, naturally, the customer categorically objects.



In order to mechanize reconstruction work a variety of machines and mechanisms especially adapted to the individual sectors must be used for cutting through concrete and brick walls, along with small bulldozers and excavators powering small-sized attachments needed for digging and removing the dirt and dig foundations without requiring the stoppage of conveyor belts or of some complex machine tools. Special telescopic hoisting and transportation facilities, concrete pumps, small-sized mechanized dump carts, and much other equipment are needed to deliver the materials to the work site. For this reason, the interested construction ministries and organizations, together with the design institutes of the USSR Gosstroy and the technological sectorial institutes must simply ensure the registration of all types of operations encountered in carrying out reconstruction and technical retooling and issue designers specific conditions and assignments for the development of such types and sizes of machines and mechanisms which would ensure the mechanization of construction and installation workers. In our view, in this case the Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building and its scientific research institutes should play a particular role in this respect. It is precisely they who have the greatest experience in the creation of such machines and mechanisms.

The USSR Food Program stipulates the increased responsibility of party, soviet and agricultural organs, heads of construction organizations and enterprises and farms regarding the efficient utilization of capital investments. Capital investments will be concentrated above all on the technical retooling, expansion and reconstruction of existing enterprises and production facilities and the accelerated completion of projects under construction.

The priority concentration of capital investments in the reconstruction and technical retooling of existing enterprises will enable us to use state funds more economically and considerably to upgrade the share of the active part of productive capital, the equipment, to accelerate the commissioning of production capacities and to undertake the production of new commodities more quickly. In the final account, this will enable us successfully to resolve the main economic problem--to increase sharply public production efficiency on a high-quality basis and with lower outlays.

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## FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF THE COUNTRY OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM

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[Article by V. Kudryavtsev, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member]

[Text] The most important landmark in the 60-year-old history of the USSR was the adoption of the new union constitution 5 years ago, in October 1977. The need for it was based on the profound changes which had taken place in our country over the past decade and had affected all aspects of social life. These radical changes in the socioeconomic and political system of the USSR were the result of the selfless toil of the Soviet people under the leadership of the communist party, and the embodiment of the Leninist ideas of building a society of real social justice. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "A new historical milestone was constitutionally codified in our progress toward communism--the building of a developed socialist society."

The importance of the country's new fundamental law is not reduced merely to the codifying of the universal-historical gains of the Soviet people. The constitution codifies for the future the foundations of the sociopolitical and economic system of the USSR. It ratifies the objectives and principles of the socialist state of the whole people, the foundations of its domestic and foreign policy, national-state system and legal status of the individual. The principles proclaimed in the constitution are guiding in terms of the entire Soviet political and legal system.

Addressing the USSR Supreme Soviet session which adopted the country's fundamental law, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "Years and decades may pass but this October day will be remembered forever by the people.... The further progress our society makes on the path to communism, the more apparent will the tremendous creative possibilities of socialist democracy become as reflected in the new constitution--the power of the people, a power in the interest of the people." The 5 years which have passed since the enactment of the constitution convincingly confirm the entire depth and accuracy of these words.

The constitution is the fundamental law of the state, which defines its nature, objectives and ways and means of further development. The 1977 USSR Constitution clearly reflects the nature of the contemporary Soviet state of the whole people and defines the supreme objective which it serves--the building of a classless communist society.

The 1977 USSR Constitution is a document of creative Marxism-Leninism. The wealth of ideas it contains makes it the source of new scientific knowledge and the target of a broad range of basic research, the results of which are of major theoretical and political significance. Such creative ideas include the constitutional stipulation on the role of the state of the whole people in the mature socialist society, the forms of state administration and the means for its development into a communist social self-administration.

The experience gained in the course of the historical development of our country convincingly proves that under the conditions of the mature socialist society the role of the political, economic-organizational, sociocultural and foreign policy activity of the state does not decline but increases substantially. The comprehensive solution by society of its development problems is the distinguishing feature of our time. It is a question mainly of tasks such as developing the material and technical foundations for communism; the further elimination of distinctions among classes and social groups; the rapprochement in living conditions between town and country; the steady upsurge of the material well-being of the people; the development of spiritual culture; the reorganization of socialist social relations into communist; the upbringing of the members of society; the defense of the socialist fatherland; and assistance in the safeguard of peace. The strengthening of the state of the whole people is the objective requirement of our time.

Experience in the building of socialism and the practice of the global communist and workers movements revealed the great complexity and historical length of the process of reorganization of society on a communist basis. Based on the works of K. Marx and F. Engels and his study of the experience of the great October revolution, V. I. Lenin emphasized that the Marxists unquestionably "acknowledge the existence of the state until victorious socialism has grown into full communism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 30, p 20). This entirely applies to our own historical stage. Developed socialism is a necessary link in the chain of social changes and a relatively lengthy historical period on the way from capitalism to communism. It is an integral system demanding centralized political and economic leadership. The socialist state of the whole people serves and, throughout this entire period, will continue to serve as the main instrument in building a communist society and defending the revolutionary gains of our people. The CPSU, which exists for the sake of the people and serves the people and which guides its great constructive activities and gives a systematic and scientifically based nature to its struggle for the victory of communism, is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system and of all state and public organizations.

One should think that such Marxist-Leninist concepts, codified in the USSR Constitution, should have been quite well familiar to any properly educated person. Nevertheless, there are specialists abroad, including some who call themselves Marxists, who claim that while admitting the need for the state under the contemporary conditions of historical development, we have abandoned the basic principles of Marx's doctrine. "The fourth Soviet constitution," an Italian newspaper wrote, "has unconditionally rejected the communist principle of the 'withering away of the state'." DER SPIEGEL, the

West German journal, claimed that according to Marxist doctrine "the dictatorship of the proletariat should be followed by community life unhindered by any kind of state or state power."

It is worth reminding these authors of Lenin's words to the effect that "the total withering away of the state requires total communism" (op. cit., vol 33, p 95). They are probably equally familiar with the thesis of our constitution according to which "the supreme objective of the Soviet state is the building of a classless communist society in which social communist self-administration will be developed." The Soviet communists do not deny in the least the essential Marxist concept of the withering away of the state, replaced by social self-administration; on the contrary, they consider this a specific historical task which requires a specific practical solution under specific conditions of time and place.

The 1977 constitution and the other political and legal documents of the communist party and Soviet state chart a number of directions leading to such a solution. Let us point out above all that in the state of the whole people the problem of self-administration is dialectically related to the functioning of institutions of people's representation.

The very creation of the first socialist state in the world, in which the political power belongs to the toiling classes, was a decisive step on the way to social self-administration. This was followed by the growth of the state of proletarian dictatorship into the state of the whole people, which represents the will and interests of workers, peasants and intellectuals, of the working people of all nations and nationalities in the country. The soviets of people's deputies--the representative organs which constitute the political foundations of the USSR--are most closely related to the population: they are not only elected by all citizens but are accountable to their electorate and must obey their instructions; in addition to the deputies, in the course of their work the soviets rely on a broad social aktiv. Through the soviets the people exercise their political power and administer their state.

The participation of the working people in resolving governmental matters is not limited to the creation of representative organs. The constitution stipulates a number of specific institutions and norms aimed at the further expansion of this participation: nationwide discussion of most important problems of state life and nationwide vote (referendum)--Article 5; the right of public organizations and labor collectives to participate in discussing and resolving governmental and social matters (Articles 7 and 8); the right of USSR citizens to participate in the administration of governmental and social affairs and in discussing and passing laws and resolutions of national and local significance (Article 48); the right to submit to state organs and public organizations suggestions on improving their activities and to criticize work shortcomings (Article 49); the work of citizens in the people's control organs, which combine state with public control (Article 92); the extensive involvement of citizens in the work of the soviets of people's deputies (Article 94); granting public organizations the rights to initiate

legislation (Article 113); participation of the citizens in administering justice as people's jurors (Article 154) and as representatives of public organizations and labor collectives (Article 162), etc.

Let us particularly emphasize the combination of state-power activities with social self-administration in the work of the local soviets of people's deputies which, as per Article 146 of the USSR Constitution, "resolve all problems of local significance based on national interests and the interests of citizens residing on the territory of the soviet." In particular, the local soviets supervise the observance of legislation by all enterprises, establishments and organizations located on their territory, including those under superior jurisdiction (Article 147). The 26th CPSU Congress drew particular attention to the importance of this function of the soviets.

In recent years production management democracy has been developed extensively. Article 8 of the constitution stipulates that labor collectives participate in the discussion and resolution of governmental and public affairs, production planning and social development, cadre training and placement, discussion and resolution of problems related to enterprise and establishment management, improvements in working and living conditions, and the use of funds appropriated for production development, sociocultural measures and material incentive. The country has more than 140,000 permanent production conferences, whose activists exceed 40 million people. Many problems affecting the lives of brigades, for example, are considered by them. The trade unions and their local organs have extensive rights in resolving economic, labor, social and other problems. The voluntary people's units and comrade courts play an active role in the preservation of law and order.

Practical experience in our state construction has proved that the broadening of the principles of our social self-administration must be based not despite but on the basis of and in close relation with state activities. At the beginning of the 1960s some extremes were allowed to occur in resolving this problem, in which the functions of some state organs were essentially replaced with nonprofessional activities. Thus, here and there the positions of prosecution investigators and the militia were eliminated and replaced by "volunteer investigators" who lacked both legal training and practical experience. Naturally, this neither resulted nor could result in anything good.

Historical experience teaches that under socialism democracy is inconceivable without a strong authoritative state power fully trusted by the people. Life proves that the truly promising and reliable way leading to the development of socialist statehood to social communist self-administration goes through the further development of democracy, i.e., the increasingly extensive participation of the citizens in the administration of governmental and social affairs, improvements in the state apparatus, upgrading the activeness of social organizations, strengthening the people's control and the legal foundations of state and social life, expanding publicity, and taking constantly into consideration public opinion. This precisely is the path earmarked in our party's decisions and codified in the USSR Constitution (Article 9).

As we know, the constitution has supreme juridical power (Article 173). This is not merely a legal stipulation (no law passed by state organs or public organizations can conflict with the fundamental law), but has a profound political meaning as well. It means that the constitution concentrates within itself all basic juridical principles which determine the nature and characteristics of the Soviet legal system in the period of mature socialism.

The most important among them is the principle of socialist legality. "The Soviet state and all of its organs," reads Article 4 of the USSR Constitution, "act on the basis of socialist legality and ensure the preservation of law and order, the interests of society and the rights and freedoms of the citizens."

The experience in the building of socialism revealed the organic interconnection between socialism and legality. The practice of economic, social and cultural development in our country convincingly proves that without legality, i.e., without ensuring a system of strict and undeviating observance of the USSR Constitution, the Soviet laws and all legal norms and stipulations, the successful and harmonious development of socialist democracy and coordination and order in public relations are impossible. The constant attention which the party and the state pay to improving legislation and to strengthening legality and law and order in the country is an objective requirement of the time, which marks the increasing importance of the legal foundations of government and social life. During the mature socialist state the Soviet state of the whole people acts as a state of developed and firm socialist legality; the legal methods of management and the broadening and preservation of the rights and freedoms of the individual are inherent in the socialist way of life.

"When we speak of the strengthening of socialist legality," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized, "we bear in mind two sides of the matter. First, the strictest possible protection of the rights of citizens and the prevention of any manifestation of arbitrariness, including on the part of officials. Secondly, the strictest observance of Soviet laws and rules of public order by all citizens." Both aspects of the rules governing socialist legality are closely interconnected. The regimen of legality in the activities of state institutions and in the actions of officials influences most positively the behavior of the citizens. On the other hand, the observance of the norms of behavior by the citizens strengthens socialist law and order as a whole.

All legal systems develop and change in the course of the development of society and the state, reflecting the historical features of their time. The content of the principle of legality changes as well. The classics of Marxism-Leninism defined the law as the will of the ruling class raised to the state of a law. Proletarian legality was aimed against the exploiters. Soviet law during the period of proletarian dictatorship preserved and protected the class interests of the working people.

The law of developed socialism expressed the will and interests of the entire people--workers, peasants and the intelligentsia--of the working people of

all nations and nationalities in the country. It takes into consideration the needs of the various social groups and strata in our society and helps to strengthen its social homogeneity.

Unlike all past legal systems, the legal system of the mature socialist society was the first in human history to become a social regulator of relations which are established and developed within a single social comity--the Soviet people. It is not aimed against any specific class or social group. In turn, this means that today most favorable grounds have been established for the development and fullest possible implementation of all democratic norms and principles of just relations among people, proclaimed by Marxism on a scientific basis and in accordance with the best ideals of human culture.

Socialist law is the law of people free from oppression and exploitation, people who are equal regardless of their origin or social status, material well-being, language or nationality. It is exclusively the socially useful labor performed by the Soviet person that determines his position in society. The most important principle in socialist law and a mandatory requirement of socialist legality is the true equality of all in the eyes of the law. This principle for which many progressive thinkers in previous ages have fought has been most fully embodied in our constitution. Let us recall that according to Article 34 all USSR citizens are equal in the eyes of the law with no restrictions whatever. The constitution also especially emphasizes the equality between men and women and among citizens of different races and nationalities.

Without limiting themselves to the proclamation and codification of the equality of citizens, the USSR Constitution and the other legislative acts stipulate the necessary conditions for ensuring the actual equality among people to the extent to which this is possible. Article 19 stipulates that the state helps to eliminate major disparities between town and country and between mental and physical labor. By granting women and men equal possibilities in social, political and cultural life the Soviet state at the same time creates for women facilities which allow them to combine labor with motherhood (Article 35). Benefits and certain advantages have been granted by the legislation to adolescents and young people, people disabled in labor and war, and individuals who live and work in the difficult natural conditions of the North, Siberia, and the Far East. Such benefits and advantages are fully consistent with the socialist concept of justice and equality, for their purpose is precisely to equalize the socioeconomic disparities which have developed regardless of the wish and will of specific individuals and to create for all citizens the possibly most equal living conditions.

The theory and practice of mature socialism, naturally, are alien to petit bourgeois equalization trends which conflict with the basic principle of our life: from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work.

Equality in the eyes of the law means not only identical rights and freedoms but identical obligations and responsibilities to society. "Respect for the law must become the personal conviction of every person," Comrade L. I.

Brezhnev said. "To an even greater extent this applies to the activities of all officials." Anyone who has violated a law must incur the stipulated punishment, regardless of his position or status, previous merits or other circumstances.

The principle of socialist legality also means that all participants in social relations have interrelated rights and obligations and must strictly implement reciprocal obligations. This applies not only to so-called physical individuals such as officials and private citizens but juridical persons as well, such as state enterprises, establishments and public organizations.

In a number of articles the USSR Constitution directly points out the responsibility of state organs to the Soviet people. The organs of the soviets report to the population (Articles 94, 149). Judges and people's assessors are answerable to the voters or to the organs which have appointed them (Article 152), etc.

The 26th CPSU Congress stressed that the solution of the problems facing the country and the use of the opportunities of developed socialism largely depend on the levels of economic management, planning and administration. This greatly enhances the importance of discipline and personal responsibility, particularly that of economic, soviet and party managers. "National interests must always stand above the interests of individual ministries and enterprises," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the congress. "Rights, substantial rights, are being granted managers so that they may make full use of them. However, every manager must always remember his high responsibility--responsibility to the individuals he must lead, the party and the people." For example, we must decisively fight irresponsibility on the part of economic organs toward the consumer. We must totally exclude cases in which one ministry or another or one department or another imposes on its "partners" in economic relations one-sided conditions suitable to it. The elimination of such shortcomings was emphasized in particular at the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee plenum.

Marxist jurisprudence does not support the bourgeois theory of the "legal state" in which the law is above the will of the state and determines its content. This theory, despite its initial democratic nature, is not consistent with the real state of affairs. It conceals the class nature of the law and the state and their socioeconomic base. However, nor will Marxism accept any voluntaristic concept regarding the correlation between state and law, according to which state organs are not bound by any legal norms and principles and can arbitrarily issue decisions, including those which conflict with existing laws. The USSR Constitution and the Soviet laws are mandatory for all: as long as they have not been abrogated in accordance with the stipulated legal order, the legal norms apply to any state and social organ, individual citizen and official. Any attempt to violate or circumvent the law, whatever its reason and whoever the perpetrator, cannot be tolerated; to the party members this is a matter of principle.



The Soviet constitution stipulates a number of juridical "mechanisms" which ensure the observance of the rights and legal interests of the citizens. "Respect for the individual and protection of citizens' rights and freedoms is the duty of all state organs, public organizations and officials," Article 57 stipulates. There are special juridical organs whose task is to protect the rights of citizens and the interests of society and the state: the prosecutor's office, the courts, the bar, the militia and people's control.

All juridical "mechanisms," naturally, must be improved. In our view, one of the directions to be followed in this work must be to strengthen the role of the judicial system, to broaden its competence and to upgrade its efficiency.

The current legislation grants the citizens the right to appeal to the courts a number of actions committed by state organs or officials: petitions must be submitted to the court regarding impropriety in electoral lists, actions committed by officials or administrative organs in imposing penalties, or decrees issued by the organs of the State Automotive Inspectorate depriving individuals of the right to drive motor vehicles. Based on petitions, the courts can also check the legality and substantiation of decisions made by financial organs on confiscating property for taxes owed the state and the local authorities, to consider labor disputes, etc.

The 1977 USSR Constitution raised to a higher level the role of courts in considering suggestions, petitions, complaints and critical remarks submitted by the citizens. For the first time in the constitutional legislation of our state, Article 58 of the USSR Constitution stipulates the possibility of appealing the actions of administrations. "The actions of officials committed in violation of the law or overstepping their rights and thus harming the rights of the citizens," it stipulates, "may be appealed in accordance with legal procedures."

Court procedures are among the most efficient democratic and accessible means for resolving conflicts arising between a citizen and an administrative organ. The independence of the court and the fact that it obeys exclusively the law, as well as the absence in the judges of any whatever departmental interest and their impartiality in settling complaints are the distinguishing qualities of the judicial order in trying cases. "No one can be his own judge," the Roman jurists said. However, this principle cannot be fully implemented in the administrative procedure of appeals, when the argument is resolved by the same interested department. Judicial procedure is a different matter. Competitiveness, extensive publicity, and verbal and direct participation in the judicial investigation of proof, as well as the possibility of the participation of the prosecutor, representatives of the public and the defender, put together, ensure a more objective clarification of all the circumstances surrounding the matter and the passing of a just sentence. That is precisely why court decisions passed on administrative-legal arguments are appealed by citizens extremely rarely (no more than 5 percent), whereas sentences passed by administrative instances are appealed far more frequently.

By ensuring the strict observance of legality in the work of the state organs, society and the state face the citizens with respective requirements. The course toward democratization of social life, systematically pursued by the party, does not mean any liberalism toward those who violate Soviet laws. The freedom of the individual is nowhere else guaranteed better than in the socialist countries. However, freedom does not mean anarchy and democracy does not mean connivance with those who violate the laws of socialist community life. The constitution stipulates a number of obligations on the part of the citizens and the legal and moral responsibility for the violation of Soviet laws.

The efficiency of the struggle against delinquencies and crime is one of the important indicators of the status of legality and law and order in the country. Antisocial phenomena adversely affect the economic, social and moral development of society. That is why the struggle against them goes beyond the framework of departmental interests and is an indivisible element of the general process of the building of communism.

We must admit that the tasks of strengthening law and order and the struggle with delinquencies are not always resolved efficiently. There are still numerous violations of juridical norms and even crimes. However, their reasons are sometimes analyzed superficially. Promising possibilities of fighting them in the various parts of the country are not always defined. No use is made of the possibilities of contemporary science and technology, mass information media or forensic studies.

As we know, violations of socialist legality are of various natures. They may be committed by private citizens as well as officials: crimes, civil delinquencies (i.e., violations of the law not constituting felonies), and administrative, labor, financial, kolkhoz, land and other violations. Some such actions are recorded and reflected in union statistics. However, the study of basic laws and trends in the dynamics of such phenomena is hindered for at least three reasons: 1. The incomplete record of legal violations; 2. The noncomparability of data for different periods caused by changes in the legislation and practices in its application; 3. Existing latent (concealed) legal violations, the precise number of which remains unknown.

Let us above all pay attention to the incomplete governmental records and statistics of delinquencies. The country has more than 300,000 comrade courts, most of which deal with minor violations. However, such data are not taken into consideration on the unionwide or even republic levels. This makes the overall picture of the condition of law and order in the country quite incomplete. This also largely applies to other information regarding some types of noncriminal violations of the law.

The problem of detecting latent (unrecorded) crimes, particularly bribery, black marketeering, official negligence, or abuse of official position, remains unresolved. Along with the implementation of practical measures in the struggle against such phenomena (improving registration and exposure of crimes and upgrading the responsibility of the militia for the registration

of delinquencies, etc.), we must develop scientific methods for determining the size and basic centers of dissemination of latent crimes and efficient means for their detection.

The proper detection of crimes and inevitable punishment of delinquents have by far not been ensured always and everywhere. We must seriously review the practice of the widespread release ahead of schedule of individuals who have been sentenced by the courts to jail terms. Naturally, the purpose of a punishment in our country is not retribution but correction and rehabilitation. However, it would be erroneous to use this pretext for weakening the stability of court sentences which must have the proper warning impact. We must fully apply the principle clearly formulated in Soviet legislation: an innocent person must never be prosecuted but no single criminal must avoid punishment.

In this case a great deal depends on the level of the professional training of cadres. In turn, this is related to the quality of the work of the law schools in higher educational institutions.

Let us point out that the VUZs meet no more than 65-70 percent of the need for legal cadres. Furthermore, two-thirds of their graduates complete their course by correspondence, which is not the best training method.

We are particularly in need of skilled jurists in the national economy. Unfortunately, about one-half of all enterprises and associations have no full-time legal departments. Only 900 jurists are employed in the vast railroad transportation organization. Full-time jurists in agriculture may be found in only 5 percent of all kolkhozes and sovkhozes. About 1,500 positions for lawyers within the system of the USSR Ministry of Agriculture are vacant. Obviously, we should expand the system of training juridical cadres by developing secondary specialized law schools, as we had done in the past. The country has more than 100,000 positions within the local soviets for officials dealing with civil status, executing court decisions and personnel and other juridical work at enterprises and others who should have such training. So far, however, the training of secondary-skill jurists has not been organized in the RSFSR and Latvia. Among the economic ministries and departments it has been organized only by Tsentrsoyuz.

The CPSU Central Committee accountability report to the 26th party congress emphasized that "the organs of justice, the courts, prosecution and Soviet militia have a high responsibility in strengthening socialist law and order. The professional knowledge of the personnel in such organs must be combined with civic courage, justice and incorruptibility. Only such people can properly meet their serious obligations."

Let us be frank: these words constitute not only an acknowledgement of the high social duty of the law enforcement authorities but an important requirement they must meet. It is aimed at considerably improving the activities of the prosecution, militia and court organs, the decisive elimination of shortcomings in their work, radical changes in work with cadres, and steady evaluation of the practical training of the workers in combination with their moral and ideological-political qualities.

Under developed socialism, when the characteristics of the law as a means for managing society and when its role in controlling social relations is enhanced, the law-and-order organs face new and stricter requirements, for each case tried in court and each investigation affect the real interests of the Soviet people and, frequently, their fate. The only criterion in assessing the activities of the law enforcement organs is the precise observance of the Soviet laws combined with the attentive and responsive attitude toward the affairs and needs of the Soviet person. It is precisely this that represents the true party and communist approach to the cause.

Developed socialism clearly proves the unbreakable tie linking Soviet democracy with the broad process of well-being of and rapprochement among all nations and nationalities in the country and the strengthening of peace among nations. The USSR Constitution codified and strengthened the unifying principles of our multinational state by organically combining socialist federalism with democratic centralism. The party considers this a reliable protection against manifestations of parochialism and national exclusivity and a scornful attitude toward the specific interests of nations and nationalities.

For the first time in global institution practices our fundamental law describes and codifies specifically and in detail the external functions of the socialist state--the protection of the socialist fatherland, support and consolidation of universal peace and development of cooperation and comradely mutual aid with the other socialist countries. For the first time our constitution stipulates that the Soviet Union is a structural component of the global socialist system; for the first time it includes special titles on the defense of the socialist fatherland and on foreign policy. The course pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet state of strengthening the positions of global socialism and supporting the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and social progress, and the development of relations with countries belonging to different social systems, in accordance with the Leninist ideas of peaceful coexistence, has gained the status of constitutional principle.

The USSR Constitution legislatively codifies the principles adopted at the Helsinki Conference: sovereign equality among countries, reciprocal rejection of the use of force or the threat of force, inviolability of borders, territorial integrity of countries, peaceful settlement of disputes, nonintervention in domestic affairs, respect for human rights and basic freedoms, equality and the right of nations to determine their own destiny, cooperation among countries and conscientious implementation of obligations based on universally acknowledged principles and norms of international law and international treaties concluded by the USSR. Essentially, it is a question of international legality, the strengthening and securing of which are particularly important prerequisites for the peace and security of the nations.

The Soviet fundamental law has become a true model of political and legal solution of the basic problems of domestic and international policy which face a number of countries and peoples today. The high international

prestige enjoyed by our constitution is above all the prestige of our communist party, Soviet state and entire Soviet people--the creator of this historical document of our age.

The stipulations and principles formulated in the USSR Constitution cover all most important aspects of public and state life. During the period following its adoption, the working people, both at home and abroad, have had the opportunity to see that its stipulations are real and effective and are being systematically implemented. This applies to the functioning of the political and economic system, the activities of state organs, respect for the rights and freedoms of the citizens and the foreign policy of our state. The words of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on the significance of the enactment of the new USSR Constitution are universally known: "... Each article and stipulation must become full part of the living practice of the comprehensive and daily activities of all state organs, officials and Soviet citizens. We did not create a constitution for decorative purposes. The constitution must and will be implemented in all its parts."

The systematic and full implementation of the constitution is a topical task of our time. In developing and implementing the stipulations of the fundamental law of developed socialism, our people are contributing to the active implementation of the party's plans and are bringing the communist future closer.

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## IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PARTY-MINDEDNESS AND NATIONAL CHARACTER OF LITERATURE

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[Review by Candidate of Philological Sciences V. Dmitriyev of the book "Chast' Obshcheproletarskogo Dela. Literaturnaya Kritika v Dorevolutsionnykh Bol'shevistskikh Izdaniyakh" [A Part of the All-Proletarian Cause. Literary Criticism in Prerevolutionary Bolshevik Publications]. Preface, compilation and notes by I. V. Kuznetsov. Sovremennik, Moscow, 1981, 383 pp]

[Text] This is a collection of articles on literature and art published in the newspapers and journals of the bolshevik party between 1901 and 1916. Militant in temperament, most of them showing their erudition, these meaningful works put together were, naturally, written to respond to the events of their time and were addressed mainly to the pre-October Revolution readership. However, the energy of thought they contain and their enthusiasm for revolutionary renovation and depth of insight make many of these chronologically old works quite relevant. Even those among them with which we are widely familiar offer something new.

Actually, the 18 articles by Lenin reprinted here, like the entire creative legacy of the leader, have long become a most active part of our culture. Most of the other works included in the book have also been accessible to the readers. For example, they are available in the collected works of G. V. Plekhanov and A. V. Lunacharskiy, in topic publications such as V. V. Vorovskiy's "Literary-Critical Articles," S. Shaumyan's "On Culture, Art and Literature," and others. However, it is precisely these same articles by the supporters of the common struggle, which represent the literary-critical aspect of Lenin's ISKRA, NOVAYA ZHIZN', ZVEZDA, PRAVDA, BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, PAYKAR and other bolshevik-printed organs, that were initially published at the same time, thanks to which the ripening of the ideological and theoretical program of our party in the fields of literature, art and culture became obvious and largely determined the subsequent initial steps for its practical implementation. As this article will prove, the traditions which were started in the prerevolutionary bolshevik periodicals and their development after the October victory retain their permanent significance. This has been reflected also in the content and direction of the recently adopted CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Creative Ties Between Literary-Artistic Journals and the Practice of the Building of Communism."

The collection opens with an excerpt from Lenin's article "The Beginning of Demonstrations," printed in the 20 December 1901 issue of ISKRA. It provides the scale of action: people, political freedom, and progressive domestic literature of global significance influencing and close to the masses.

In his review of the novel by the German writer Wilhelm von Polentz "The Peasant," published in a Russian edition with a preface by Leo Tolstoy, writing in the journal ZARYA the first review of a work of art (August 1902) carried by the Russian social democratic press, G. V. Plekhanov convincingly proved the inner link between world literature, properly depicting the life of the people, and Russian reality in literature.

We know that it was not in vain that in the methodological approach applied in the famous work "Leo Tolstoy As a Mirror of the Russian Revolution," which was printed in the 11 September 1908 issue of PROLETARIY, the clandestine newspaper, which many contemporaries found unusual, V. I. Lenin turned, as he did in many other articles regarding the classical heritage, to Tolstoy and others. The consistent and ideologically mature Russian Marxist immediately and irreversibly shows the type of analysis of artistic phenomena represented, for example, by the article by S. Spandaryan: "Noble Indignation," published in the 27 September 1908 issue of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, and the article "Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy," by I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov in the 28 November 1910 newspaper NASH PUT'.

This achievement which went far deeper than the surface of the truth--the fact that, as Lenin wrote, "a comparison between the name of the great artist and a revolution which he clearly failed to understand and from which he obviously removed himself" (p 69), which was nevertheless justified, opened the way to explaining the strong influence which Tolstoy had on the minds and hearts and on the development of Russian literature as among the most significant ones. "The epoch of the preparation for the revolution in a country of suppressed serfs became, thanks to Tolstoy's brilliant interpretation, a step forward in the artistic development of all mankind" (p 99).

Under circumstances in which, according to Lenin, "strict party-mindedness is the fellow traveler and the result of a highly developed class struggle," and when "in the interest of the open and extensive class struggle strict party-mindedness must be developed," (p 40), there were only "the spiritual slaves of the nonparty people," (p 138) to use the apt expression of Skvortsov-Stepanov in his article "Capital and the Press" in the journal VESTNIK TRUDA (December 1909).

The understanding of this truth was organic to the bolsheviks, as indicated by the materials in the collection. Lenin opposed a different ideal to the idea of false nonparty-mindedness. In the area of artistic culture this meant a communist party-minded "free literature, embodying the latest word of the revolutionary thinking of mankind ..." (p 39).

At the turn of the century the literature of socialist realism was as yet to develop out of its initial few models which the reader finds in the works of M. Gor'kiy. That is why the article by A. V. Lunacharskiy, "Tasks of the

Social Democratic Artistic Creativity," published in the journal VESTNIK ZHIZNI (January 1907) is no more than a forecast. However, it is also theoretically and partially a practically substantiated argument.

The critic follows Lenin's article "Party Organization and Party Literature." In the spirit of Lenin's manifesto on party-mindedness Lunacharskiy writes that "social democracy is not merely a party but a great cultural movement" (p 83). He notes the attractiveness, "the charm of the movement itself and its world outlook" (p 86), and it is precisely in this connection that he discusses in detail the nature of artistic creativity, i.e., he continues the consideration of the party-mindedness of art in its aesthetic specifics, initiated by Lenin.

To this day "sociological" criticism is blamed for its alleged neglect of the special nature of art. However, V. V. Vorovskiy (see the article "Literary Sketches. Once Again About Gor'kiy," in the February issue of the journal MYSL', 1911) wrote about artistic creativity that "this type of mental activity is one of the most complex and stands at the very peak of the spiritual pyramid" (p 231). This was not merely a declaration and did not prevent Vorovskiy's "aesthetic" criticism from being "sociological" in the least.

Addressing himself to Tolstoy's preface to von Polentz's novel "The Peasant," Plekhanov accurately noted as regards to Tolstoy that "he is a great enemy of critical articles which are written not specifically about artistic works but only on the occasion of their publication. However, his preface itself is a critical article in which he discusses very little the novel by von Polentz and a great deal on the occasion of its publication" (p 34). As contemporary experience as well indicates, criticism which describes itself as strictly aesthetic is in fact sociological no less than criticism which deliberately seeks the ideological content of works of art.

The profound revelation of the ideas of party-mindedness through the lens of the specific nature of the creative features and fine study of the artistic characteristics of a number of the works are characteristic of the articles in the collection and are fully consistent with the sociological aspect of this analysis.

This is clearly manifested in the consistent and uncompromising struggle which the bolshevik critics and publicists fought for realism and against the ideology and artistic practice of decadence and the turncoat attitude of the bourgeois intelligentsia.

For example, in the article "Art and F. Sologub" (in the 10 October 1913 issue of the newspaper ZA PRAVDU) M. S. Ol'minskiy not only proves the poetic groundlessness of the poem "Three Maidens" (the full text of which is included in the article) but characterizes it as "morally ugly work" (p 305). The critic relates the question of the intrinsic worth of a work of art, which had been raised once again by the bourgeois press at that time in its slanderous campaign directed against Gor'kiy, to make it actual reality: by pleasing political reaction and joining it, it is precisely "the people who



shift from the camp of 'those who die for the great cause of love' to the camp of 'blabbering enthusiasts with hands dipped in blood,' who usually become the zealous admirers of pure art" (p 306).

In the article "The Campaign Against Gor'kiy" (ZA PRAVDU, 4 October 1913), substantively rebuffing those who had attacked the proletarian writer for his unpleasant staging of "The Demons" in the spirit of pandering to renegade feelings (this occurred following the defeat of the 1905 revolution), that same Ol'minskiy demystified the popular cover of the bourgeois intelligentsia: "For the past several years they have been telling us that talent stands above anything else" (p 302). In the tradition of Belinskiy, the Marxist critic claims that what matters is the direction which talent takes.

The support of talent as a "pure" artistic manifestation fully enables the bourgeois literary workers, even the modernists, to consider the truth of life and the very obligation of its accurate representation and equally lackadaisically to lend their name to the anticommunist politicians to use it for their dirty purposes.

We find in Gor'kiy's "Notes on the Petite Bourgeoisie," printed in the October-November 1905 issue of NOVAYA ZHIZN', a brilliant characterization of the socioclass origins and social consequences of philosophy, art and morality of the "talented linguistic prostitutes" (p 56) and a rarely accurate and quite just description of the manifestations of the consumerist mentality of today despite the fact that some of the author's views must be amended in accordance with contemporary, more thoroughly developed scientific concepts.

In a spirit of bolshevik intolerance of anything that is alien and hostile to the ideals and cause of socialism, the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Creative Links Between Literary-Artistic Journals and the Practice of Communist Building" calls upon the masters of the word to continue "to assert the vital objectives worthy of the Soviet man and systematically to debunk nonpolitical consumerist mentality."

Lenin prophetically wrote that "our views are supported by history itself, by each step of reality" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 12, p 65). Furthermore, as early as 1901 Lenin's ISKRA cautioned against complacency: "Although we may have been right yesterday we may turn out wrong tomorrow and, without controlling it, we may plunge into its stormy waves" (p 23).

The same thought was taken up by Ol'minskiy in his article "Saltykov-Shchedrin," published in the journal PROSVESHCHENIYE (May 1914): "The molding of a principled and firm personality of the steadfast fighter for ideals will protect the tactics of the party of the working class from deviations and distortions which can easily occur at certain moments under the influence of the complexity and confusion of social relations" (p 269).

Lenin's stipulation that "it is only disappointments and roaming from side to side that await those who shun an allegedly one-sided class viewpoint" remains entirely valid (op. cit., vol 9, pp 131-132). The far-sightedness of

this warning has been invariably confirmed by social practice, for social feelings are rarely one-dimensional, for life is full of contradictions which, along with true answers to complex problems of reality new problems, arguments and erroneous viewpoints and sometimes firm errors and even illusions. The increasing interest which Soviet social scientists show in the scientific interpretation of contradictions under socialist conditions and to the determination of the means for their knowledge and resolution is not accidental. "... As we now know," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "the development and advancement of socialism is a no less complex or responsible task than laying its foundations."

Discussions on a wide range of problems related to popular art and the interpretation of the cultural legacy have become quite sharp among our creative intelligentsia. This is largely related to contemporary art practice. This is not the proper place to discuss in detail such an extensive and largely complex area of present-day aesthetic reciprocal attractions and repulsions, a topic which should be considered separately. It would be pertinent, however, to point out that the materials in this collection, although it includes some which are totally irrelevant to today's situation, provide rich food for thought in terms of the subjects treated.

In noting that "the strictly muzhik-leaning artists were not the spokesmen for the muzhik but expressed the zealous belief in his intellect" (p 88) Lunacharskiy wrote in the journal VESTNIK ZHIZNI (January 1907) that "the passive suffering peasantry, the people, naturally need 'sympathetic artists,' a sympathy which has reached the level of virtuosity in the great writers and painters of the previous generation of the Russian intelligentsia. The people as subject, the people as maker of history, the proletariat which is becoming aware of its great mission ... that people need different spokesmen" (ibid.).

At the same time, "at the very peak of the populist embellishment of the muzhik," Vorovskiy noted in the journal MYSL' (March 1911), there were realistic artists who did not ignore the dark, the negative aspects of country life, and who were able and courageous enough to note the elements of darkness in that same popular mass ..." (pp 238-239). This was a darkness which the revolution alone could scatter.

In the heat of the current polemics on the national nature of literature, matters frequently reached the point of an entirely uncritical lyricism--the idealizing of the patriarchal Russian peasantry. This extreme occurs against the background of a trend which, in itself, is positive, and should be mentioned to begin with.

The contemporary writers following a "rural" orientation, who have written a number of excellent works, are imbued with the noble aspiration to describe better the truly splendid foundations of the moral world and the character of the "man of the land," and to depict the beauty of his soul.

This is doubly and triply accurate when it comes to the people and the destinies of the Soviet countryside who have borne on their shoulders, together

with the town, the heaviest burdens of the war years and the painfully hard restoration. Like the working class, our peasantry accomplished a true exploit, which proved its firmness and patriotism. For a while this was not properly reflected in fiction. Redeeming such a major sin, today literature is paying its due of respect and love to those who deserve it. This is justified!

However, in the search for the pure sources of the splendid moral qualities of their characters, in this case the toilers of the land, some writers and even more so critics have begun to idealize above all the old prerevolutionary patriarchal system.

Initially this could be considered as a polemically sharpened aspiration to emphasize that regardless of the centuries of oppression which could have spoiled the nature of the peasant, he nevertheless had preserved the purity and generosity of his soul, high morality, philosophy of conciliation and feeling for beauty; so, let us concentrate precisely on this, since the rest has been quite a burden on us for quite some time! Alas, the nature of any idealizing is such that whatever the motivations guiding them, the result is invariably negative, above all when it concerns the object of such idealizing. To idealize, in the words of F. Mehring, means an "imaginary aesthetic judgment" (p 79).

Thus interpreted, the supporters of the patriarchal "origins" become strangely unlike the subjects as depicted in the works of writers who had first-hand familiarity with the topic. They were unlike the interpretation even to the real patriarchal system by the current classics and prerevolutionary bolshevik criticism.

In Vorovskiy's eyes I. A. Bunin's "Derevnya" [The Countryside] was a literary novelty; the review of this novel by the Marxist critic is one of the relatively early comments on the story: "The rich Russian soil has grabbed the muzhik in its clutches, joining him into a kind of tool, an appendage sentenced to tinker with it forever, unable to lift his head and to shake off this slavery, this 'power of the land,' which had become a 'power of darkness'. The famous 'idiocy of country life,' which Marx noted more than half a century ago, is closely related to the very type of rural life and toil, and with the narrow outlook and isolated interests and way of life of the countryside. Removed from this stupefying atmosphere, in the city the peasant changes entirely, becoming an urban worker who can rise to the level of the universal tasks of his time. Such is the countryside as depicted by Bunin" (p 242).

As the writer proves, the patriarchal system did not rescue from destruction the moral foundations of the individual under the pressure of free enterprise relations. On the contrary, it increased its destruction by concealing it behind the forms of ancient community life. Bunin had first-hand knowledge of the patriarchal system. He depicted it accurately and although he lacked a socialist understanding of the reorganization of the countryside he clearly realized that "all such talks concerning some kind of original way which would be followed by Russia unlike the European West and all such talks on

age-old muzhik principles and on the fact that it is the muzhik who will eventually have the final word, at a time when the world was slowly moving ahead in its ethnological development, all of this is a nonsense which hinders the cause" (I. A. Bunin, "Derevnya. Povesti i Rasskazy" [The Countryside. Novels and Stories]. Moscow, 1981, pp 14-15).

Quite naturally, bolshevik prerevolutionary criticism directed progressive literature toward paying attention to the then new character--the revolutionary proletariat. It called upon the artistic intelligentsia to help, as Lunacharskiy said, "the growing world-renovating class" (p 92) to realize and express itself not only politically but aesthetically. In their newspapers and journals the bolsheviks warmly welcomed and supported Gor'kiy's works. However, this did not mean in the least that they were indifferent to the fate of the peasantry. On the contrary (as the materials in the collection show), they persistently argued and proved that the liberation struggle would become truly popular only when it involves the participation of all toiling classes headed by the proletariat victoriously pursuing universal objectives. Lenin's articles on Tolstoy are indicative in this respect.

The bolsheviks highly valued the fact the revolutionary democrat N. A. Dobrolyubov, one of their outstanding ideological predecessors, "not only identified the nature of Western history as a class struggle but realized that the same fate awaited Russia as well" (p 253). Could such a perspicacious philosopher hope, Vorovskiy notes, that along the new and historically inevitable path the peasantry "would turn out to be some kind of chosen bearer of the 'natural aspirations' of mankind? Such a messianic nature was alien to Dobrolyubov's entire way of thinking" (p 259).

The idealizing of the patriarchal system--a kind of neomessianism which is encountered in some current works and in their interpretation--proves, among others, the existence of an uncritical and romanticized acceptance from the cultural legacy of the past of the searching and attractive sincerity and talent which are equally strong as their objectively unavoidable and, in the final account, illusory nature.

The Russian peasant is one of the most profound embodiments of the national character, which makes him even more deserving of being better understood, recreated and properly assessed. However, this should be done without any unknowing toil and not separately from the irreversible changes which are taking place within the peasant, in other words, with the complete entirety and, we may justifiably say, the greatness found above all in his age-old indestructible desire for a better lot.

The Russian peasantry (as long as we are discussing it), together with the vanguard working class accomplished an unparalleled socialist change in society, in the spiritual organization of the individual and within itself. It accomplished this in its own way and under the specific conditions of the Russian countryside which are psychologically quite different from those in the city. To object to this would be stupid. Suffice it to reread M. A. Sholokhov or, let us say, S. P. Zalygin. However, something else is equally true: this was a single nationwide accomplishment of all toiling classes, nations and nationalities in our country and such it is today.

The national nature of the Russian peasantry in the socialist age consists not of pitting it against the town but the fact that today it is imbued with a socialist outlook. Inherent in the peasant originality of today is an awareness of a common responsibility for the fate of the country and culture and, furthermore, for the fate of peace, shared with the working class and the intelligentsia. The warm attachment for his "small homeland" no longer includes a parochial exclusivity or limitation. The national feeling and dignity of the Soviet Russian peasant has nothing in common with nationalism and chauvinism.

The utopian-messianic motifs of a patriarchal-peasant nature, encountered in artistic creativity and in its interpretations, also reveal the fact that in the argument against them publicistic objections do not always hit their target. Therefore, remembering the example of the bolshevik critics of the turn of the century, to whom similar topics were, although somewhat differently, equally relevant, makes sense when we discuss today's writings in the context of contemporary reality and culture, convincingly proving in the course of the arguments the advantages of a broad class approach, free from any kind of one-sidedness, while remaining purposeful, thus clarifying more extensively and clearly, among others, the sterility of the concepts of nationality based on a patriarchal system.

Briefly stated, the narrow-mindedness and one-sidedness of this concept lies in the somewhat mistrustful perception of the present and the future. Essentially it rejects their morality and culture whenever they face us with the new reality no longer found in the forms of daily manifestations quite popular in the past. Those who accept them are looking essentially backwards --relying more on some kind of "golden age" although this was an age of crying contradictions and dead ends, not excluding the patriarchal system, accurately described in Tolstoy's "Power of Darkness" and Chekhov's "In the Ravine" and "Muzhiki" and Bunin's "The Countryside." In his article "L. N. Tolstoy and His Age," which was published in the 22 January 1911 issue of ZVEZDA, Lenin emphasized that the class approach to the phenomena of life and culture must be specific-historical, for it is the "socialism which is consistent with the ideology of the classes which will replace the bourgeoisie, and hence the utopian nature of the criticism of its positions, that is "socialism which expresses the ideology of the class which will replace the bourgeoisie" (p 145).

What is the reason for the fact that this past has become so precious and desirable by us? Why are we unwilling to part with it?

It is because it calls us to march forth. It makes us grateful to our predecessors. It strengthens our faith in the future and it multiplies our power to surmount. In the final account, it is because what is bright and pure in the past and in the present is always a behest which finds a response within each generation, the behest tirelessly to embody within and around oneself the age-old dream of the toiling people of living a worthy human life.

As we know, this kind of life must be won from adverse circumstances and repel numerous encroachments. We must face the hesitations and confusions of those who are frightened by the complexity of the virgin path. It can be built only with extreme stress, without rest, without deviating from our purpose. This is where we find our joy, hope and justification. Free from the age-old egoism of the exploiters, the lofty behests and spiritual values of the past, including Soviet classics, are absolutely needed, for without them we would impoverish ourselves unjustifiably. Furthermore, as the CPSU Central Committee decree on the journals of our creative unions recently said, "the new generations of Soviet people need a positive character, close to them in spirit and time, which they could adopt as an artistic discovery, which would influence the actions of the people and reflect the national destiny." Along with the profound mastery of the increased cultural accomplishments we need an aesthetic enhancement to the level of our time and the steadfast progress toward the horizons of a communist civilization.

The CPSU Central Committee accountability reports to the 26th congress provides the initial premise for a proper approach to the problem of the national nature of Soviet literature and its party-mindedness: "To live with the interests of the people, to share with them happiness and sadness, to assert the truth of life and our humanistic ideals, and to be an active participant in the building of communism represents the true national character and true party-mindedness of art."

Unquestionably, the spiritual sources of the national nature of contemporary Russian Soviet literature would be inconceivable both without the countryside and the town, with a countryside such as it is, including with some of its traditions, some of which are deeply rooted in history while others developed under the Soviet system, in a word, the country with all that the present age had contributed to it. Our countryside, with its complex problems and our greatly outstanding writings on the countryside await a deeper interpretation and studies purged, on the one hand, from artificial compliments and all kinds of idealizing and, on the other, arrogant sermons and lack of appreciation. In other words, the countryside needs scientifically objective works which would also contribute to surmounting mistakes, although made in good conscience. As Lenin's ISKRA stated (April 1901) in the article "Dedicated to the Friendly Reader," "we need a broader outlook, we must learn how to look" (p 24).

The further development of literature on the countryside persistently demands (again citing the CPSU Central Committee decree) "to focus on the artistic mastery of reality related to the creation of new production conditions and way of life in the countryside. Literature can make a great contribution to developing in the young love for the land, nature and rural toil."

Prerevolutionary bolshevik literary criticism (let us remember that these were its initial steps) proved its maturity and party-mindedness also in matters of patriotism, national culture and proletarian internationalism. Furthermore, the profound conclusions which were reached then also in connection with fiction, have remained basic to this day. They have withstood the test of time.

In the 12 December 1914 issue of the newspaper SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT, within the same article Lenin wrote something which might have seemed incompatible: "Our beautiful homeland" "is justifiably described as the 'jail of the peoples'" (p 109). However "we are brimming with a feeling of national pride ..." (p 110). Unquestionably, there were grounds for such pride "for the Great Russian nation also created a revolutionary class and also proved its ability to give mankind (let us emphasize: mankind--the author) great examples of the struggle for freedom and socialism, rather than only great pogroms, gallows, jails, great hunger and great servility to priests, czars, landowners and capitalists" (ibid.).

The internationalist exigency with which S. Shaumyan concentrates on even partial and, in his own admission, unwitting manifestations of nationalism, in the newspaper PAYKAR ("Struggle") in its 14 August 1916 issue is indicative. They were unwitting as a result of the insufficiently developed standard of class thinking, as was the case of D. Ananun who, discussing new currents and influences which had appeared in Armenian circles in 1905 and somewhat earlier, "mentions not a word of the influence which the all-Russian Marxist party had on Armenian life" (p 344). On the contrary, Ananun praised that which deserved no praise and ignored even the works of A. Akopyan.

In the same article Shaumyan wittingly rejects the aspiration of an author for some kind of national arrogance. What Shaumyan mocked in this case as a "childish theory" is today far from childish but is very aggressively preached by some bourgeois ideologues in connection with many nations and races. The arguments of this outstanding Armenian Marxist-Leninist remain to this day in the battle lines, on the front end of the ideological struggle.

But let us return to Lenin. Unfortunately, it so happened that his work "On the National Pride of the Great Russians," published in the book "Part of the All-Proletarian Cause" excluded more than 130 pages from an earlier excerpt from his article "Critical Remarks on the National Problem," although the latter was published (in the journal PROSVESHCHENIYE) one year previously. This may create to say the least an inaccurate impression on the bolshevik tactics regarding the national problem. What actually happened was the following:

Initially, when the word "national," and the concept of "national culture," extensively used in the social democratic press, was almost entirely understood by a considerable segment of the reading public in its ordinary bourgeois meaning, rejecting the then largely popular meaning of the term and exposing its content, which was exploitative or adapted to the interests of the rich classes, Lenin demanded of the Marxists, the Russian Marxists above all, "not to preach, not to permit the use of the slogan of national culture" (p 247). In the eyes of many "Great Russians" and of the ruling Black Hundred and bourgeois national culture" (ibid.) this slogan was excessively identified with the type of culture against which the Leninist party was waging a decisive struggle.

Today as well it is important clearly to realize that it is precisely this type of "national culture," hostile to the working people, that Lenin opposed, suggesting that it be replaced with proletarian internationalism: "Let us struggle against our Great Russian landowners and bourgeoisie and against their 'culture,' in the name of internationalism ..." (ibid.).

Did this mean that Leninism was ignoring national culture as such? No. In that same article, substantiating the principles of the party's national policy, Lenin briefly provided an integral doctrine of the two cultures existing within each national culture within bourgeois society. He emphasized that the "national culture" supported by the communists "is not unnational ..." (p 246).

All of this is quite well-known. We are drawing attention only to the fact that not only theoretically but from the practical and political viewpoints it was possible to assert at that time this new understanding by publicly rejecting the slogan of national culture in its older meaning. It was only then, after this was accomplished, and after its results in the social awareness and social feelings became apparent, that Lenin once again raised the slogan of a national--socialist!--culture, showing the content of the progressive culture of the Great Russians and proclaiming that in this respect the Russian communists are brimming with "feelings of national pride" (p 110).

Such are the landmarks in the historical and logical development of the Leninist ideas on such problems in 1913-1914.

Let us point out that Lenin had brilliantly destroyed some popular concepts and filled them with a new meaning earlier as well. A vivid example of this fact is the article "Party Organization and Party Literature" (1905), included in the collection, in which Lenin pitted against the passive word "freedom," which had been debased and deprived of its inner meaning by the liberal-bourgeois press, including in the field of artistic creativity, the socially active concept of party-mindedness--communist party-mindedness. As this and other Leninist articles show, "party-mindedness" is not the opposite but precisely the synonym of the true and undistorted by bourgeois prejudices freedom of art, freedom of serving the people and the cause of socialism and communism.

From the viewpoint of the contemporary ideological struggle, equally topical today are the bolshevik arguments opposing concessions to nationalism within their ranks and within the scientific theory of socialism. Lenin believed that the question of the attitude toward nations and national culture is like a litmus paper which enables us to identify the "home-grown socialist chauvinists" (p 112) and, in Plekhanov's words, the Marxists "who understand the meaning of their own doctrine" (p 163). The latter cannot fail to reject the "infant diseases of national apology," which were justifiably described recently in the journal LITERATURNNOYE OBOZRENIYE (No 7, 1982) by V. T. Pashuto, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, in his article "Literature and History: Ways of Creative Cooperation."



Lenin emphasized that "the interest (not slavishly understood) in the national pride of the Great Russians coincides with the socialist interests of the Great Russian (and all other) proletarians" (pp 111-112). Conversely, those who make concessions to the nationalism of a large or small nation "will prove to be traitors not only to their own homeland, to free and democratic Great Russia, but also traitors to the proletarian fraternity among all peoples of Russia, i.e., to the cause of socialism" (p 112). Is this not a model of patriotism in which active love for homeland, national pride and proletarian internationalism are indivisible?

By refusing to grant patriotism to Leninism, the bourgeois press and particularly some white emigre publications have frequently tried to present it merely as a variation of one of the old ideological currents in Russia--Westernism. The materials in this collection prove once again convincingly that the formerly insoluble contradiction between Westernism and the trends of national originality is surmounted by Leninism which dialectically combines socialism and communism within a single ideal. This qualitative difference between the concept and the very appearance of the new world, the new Russian and, as a whole, the new Soviet culture, Lenin insistently recalled in his latest works. Thus, in his article "Better Less But Better" (2 March 1923) he wrote: "In a word, we must raise not the requirements of bourgeois Western Europe but requirements which are raised decently and worthily by a country whose task is to become a socialist country" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, p 391).

The collection has been published in a large edition of 100,000 copies. Considering the additional fact that it is the first of its kind, such a publication must indeed be made widely accessible. The work contains 75 excerpts from 20 pre-October Revolution newspapers and journals. This is a great deal of material.

The book has been compiled with a great deal of love. It is part of the series on "Lovers of Russian Literature." The articles present a broad and impressive picture of the very beginning of the Leninist stage in the development of aesthetics and cultural policy.

The only way open to us by history is the way of the tireless and persistent struggle for the triumph of the communist ideals. As we know, this struggle began long ago and the foundations of the outstanding victories of socialism were laid even before the October Revolution. That is why the then ideological surges of the dedicated fighters and the gains of revolutionary thinking belong to us as well as an inseparable part of the culture of a building communism. We identify with the scope of the innovative tasks which the pioneers set themselves and dedicatedly carried out. We understand their need and permanent readiness to look in daily and seeming transient events that which prefaced the future. We understand their aspiration and ability to turn their just anger against what was hostile and obsolete. We are captivated by their proletarian class purposefulness, to which prejudice and sectarian narrow-mindedness were alien. Finally, we find instructive their tireless, optimistic and daring defeat of inevitable and frequently incredible difficulties and clear awareness of how important it is not to lose

within the complex interweaving of stormy events the final objective and to resolve arising contradictions always in a socialist spirit, in accordance with the laws of social development and the increased attraction experienced by progressive mankind for justice, peace and total humanistic self-realization.

We are faced with a continuity of outstanding traditions. As the CPSU Central Committee recent decree states, literary-artistic periodicals must march in step with the times. It must note and support what is new and progressive in the life of Soviet society and be steadily guided by the principles of party-mindedness and nationality. The historical optimism of the pioneers of the new world is contagious. It lives in us, the continuators of their struggle, the contemporaries of mature socialism, filling us with the exciting feeling of involvement with great words and great causes.

Once again we are convinced of the vivifying nature of addressing ourselves to the irreplaceable prime sources.

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## BARD OF THE 'AGE OF THE GOOD'

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[Article by V. Sedykh]

[Text] In the spring of 1958 a ceremony took place at which Louis Aragon, the outstanding French writer and public figure, was presented with the international Lenin prize "For Strengthening Peace Among Nations." I recall the fraternal warmth with which the members of the Soviet public welcomed the famous poet and the warm attention with which they heard his address which was subsequently included in the collected works of Louis Aragon under the title of "Moskovskaya Rech'" [Moscow Speech].

At that time Aragon had just celebrated his 60th birthday. Today the progressive people in France and other countries are celebrating the 85th birthday of this outstanding master, one could say the doyen of contemporary literature. Rereading "Moskovskaya Rech" today as, in fact, most of his other works, we are impressed not only by the depth of content and brilliant form but the amazingly topical and vital nature of his works which seem to be impervious to passing time. Is this not a real characteristic of a truly great master whose creativity not only does not become obsolete with time but, conversely, it is "honed" by time and will continue to serve people, mankind, for a long time to come!

What was the topic of "Moskovskaya Rech?" Above all and essentially it discussed the role and significance of the artist and, in general, of art today. It discussed the vivifying force of socialist realism which, as Aragon said, had become a means of struggle, an active part in the reorganization of the world. It discussed the imperative need to fight the growing threat of war. According to the writer, today principled discussions on art and literature are even more inseparable--and cannot be removed--from the basic problems which affect mankind, the defense of culture in general and, simply stated, the defense of peace.

"If some artists," Aragon pointed out, "deem it below their dignity to work in favor of peaceful coexistence, in the belief that the place of the writer is above the clouds and the abstract world, to me, to us, this is an intoxicatingly beautiful task of which I am more proud than of any kind of art philosophy."

Aragon's path in the field of great art was as difficult and complex as was his life. He was born in Paris virtually at the end of the 19th century, on 3 October 1897. He spent his childhood in the family of a rich official who gave the youngster the family name of Aragon, after one of the old Spanish provinces.

The status of "illegitimate" child left profound traces in the unusually sensitive heart of the child and the adolescent. How frequently he sensed the slanted looks and saw the ambiguous grins at the standoffish Roman Catholic Lycee Carnot and even the free-spirited Sorbonne (on his mother's insistence the youngster attended its school of medicine)!

It was from here, from the student bench, that the 20-year-old Aragon went to serve as a medic in the meat grinder of World War I. Many years later, in his autobiographical poem "Unfinished Novel" he recalled that:

It was from the inside that we  
Saw the war in the days of its third winter...  
From the torn guts of the earth  
With a shout the plowed-up body.

The flames of war burned the heart of the young Aragon who, like millions of his compatriots and contemporaries, learned to hate militarism and anything which creates and nurtures it forever. Initially, however, this feeling of protest which was looking for an out, was still unclear and vague, as shown in the early attempts of the future poet in the literary field.

Aragon wrote his first poems, subsequently published in the anthology "Fireworks," during the war, in 1917. Soon afterwards he became attracted to dadaism, a formalistic current in art, whose most famous representatives were Tristan Tsara, Paul Eluard and Andre Breton. Dadaism was a kind of reaction on the part of a group of young people to the horrors of the world war and the comprehensive crisis it triggered. Having proclaimed that "logical nihilism" was their trend in art, these rebels rejected absolutely everything, frequently including true values of culture, for the sake of a deliberately complicated verbal game. The time would come when Aragon himself would assess this period in his work as follows: "It is here that the great twilight of words begins. Here the name abandons the subject.... Here the slumbering forest of acrobatics begins...."

Should we be amazed that this brittle dadaist structure, founded on such loose grounds, collapsed rapidly? In the 1920s most of the former group of French dadaists joined another formalistic current in art--surrealism--which initially attracted Louis Aragon with its "revolutionism." Alas, quite soon the poet realized that the "r-r-revolutionary" phraseology of surrealism concealed anarchism which was quite distant from true art and from the real interests of the French people. Turning subsequently to his literary colleagues, Aragon was to say that "... whenever you abandon reality you begin by abandoning France. I have already suffered from this disease."

What was it that helped this poet to get rid of the "disease" of formalism in art with relative speed? Above all his tremendous and rare talent and insurmountable striving toward truth in art and life. His works of prose, written in the 1920s, such as "Anis" or "Panorama," "The Adventures of Telemachus," and "Free-Thinking," and subsequently his book "The Paris Peasant," revealed his original talent as in his early poems. We hear in many of his works of that time the ever-growing sound of the angry condemnation of the capitalist world and the ever-clearer desire for a revolutionary reorganization of the antihumane society based on profit, violence and lies. From anarchic and individualistic rebellion, Aragon gradually turned to active participation in the revolutionary struggle waged by the toiling masses for the bright future of their homeland.

It was entirely natural and legitimate for the poet to join the ranks of the French Communist Party in 1927, which continued the best traditions of the peoples of France and the freedom-loving traditions of the Jacobins and the heroes of the Paris Commune. Many years later Aragon was to write a beautiful poem dedicated to the communist party:

Nevertheless, I chose the wide road:  
Although I found it painful, although I sometimes cried,  
I learned to march in step with others  
So that the workers' lines marched with my song...  
We see in the party future days similar  
To the sunny times to which our path is leading;  
That is why the enemy is hastening in its impotent hatred.  
To hurl it under its wheels.

Naturally, the poet's decision to link his fate with the difficult struggle of the French Communist Party was consistent with his insatiable interest in the homeland of the Great October Revolution and the people who had given V. I. Lenin to the world. Describing subsequently in one of his poems this revolutionary country and its cities, and the "those present at meetings, filled with bubbling passion," Aragon was to write "I deliver Lenin out of my suitcase in La Ciotat, (Oustarice) or Saint-Pierre-de-Corps" (French cities--the author).

It was precisely during that period, more accurately in 1928, that he met in Paris Vladimir Mayakovskiy, the greatest poet of the land of the soviets. This acquaintanceship, which soon developed into a solid friendship, was of tremendous significance to Aragon's entire creative destiny. Explaining subsequently his sincere admiration of his outstanding Soviet friend, he said that "to us Mayakovskiy is above all the creator of contemporary political poetry. This is a fact which no one will erase from the pages of history. He was the poet of his homeland, the poet of the October Revolution and the poet of international solidarity. It is precisely now, in the course of our common great struggle for peace that Mayakovskiy's voice covers the voices of all other poets."

In emphasizing the inseparable organic tie between civic and love lyricism in the works of the Soviet poet, Aragon added that "the greatness of Mayakovskiy

is that he became the creator of contemporary political poetry not in the least because of his inability to write about something else but precisely because he was the greatest poet of love among our contemporaries."

One cannot miss the closeness between the creative and social paths of Aragon and Vladimir Mayakovsky. Strictly speaking, this was the basis of their mutually felt sympathy and friendship. The author of this article has frequently heard recollections on meetings with Mayakovsky by Aragon himself, in whose Paris apartment, on the Rue de Varenne stands carefully preserved a big photograph of the Soviet poet. Quite well familiar with the Russian language, the French poet compared his friend to a "beacon" which illuminated his path in literature.

In the memorable year 1928 Louis Aragon met in Paris another one of our compatriots. This was Elsa Triolet, who soon became both the wife and worthy fellow worker of Aragon in the field of literature. Subsequently the poet dedicated to her many wonderful lines singing her beautiful features and lofty feeling of love....

His friendship with Vladimir Mayakovsky and acquaintanceship with Maxim Gor'kiy and other Soviet writers could not fail to facilitate Aragon's search for the true path in art toward which he had intuitively aspired since his youth.

However, what did the true path to literature and art mean to Aragon? It meant realism, socialist realism. Here is what the poet himself said on this occasion: Reminding in one of his speeches of the richest possible history of French art, the best representatives of which had drawn their vital strength in national reality, Aragon emphasized that "French realism is a victory for the sake of which our writers and painters had dedicated for centuries their best--it is the mature fruit of French progressive thinking, and the writers and painters who, whether they like it or not, are entrusted today with representing our country, cannot abandon it."

Refuting the assertions of many bourgeois critics according to whom socialist realism is a purely "Soviet phenomenon," the poet convincingly stated that "there is no socialist realism without French realism." He added that "in any country the art of socialist realism can acquire its global significance only when it sinks profound roots in the soil on which it grows--in the national soil with its own characteristics."

Aragon's work, whose roots are sunk deeply in the national soil, are an outstanding confirmation of these words. Starting with the 1930s, it assumed new colors and social meanings. In his poem "The Red Front," written in 1931, Aragon describes two different cities of Paris--the bourgeois and the proletarian--showing the very sharp contradictions between capitalism and the world of labor. Other poems written during that period, such as "The Music of the Days," "One Beautiful Day," and "Song of the Pearl Divers," are imbued with warm sympathy for the simple working people.

The poet made his first trip to the land of the soviets in 1930. He participated in the second international conference of revolutionary writers, which was held in Kharkov, and then worked in Moscow as the correspondent for L'HUMANITE. His many trips around our country and friendly contacts with Soviet people inspired Aragon to write outstanding works such as the poem "Hurray, Urals!" in praising the labor accomplishments of the Soviet workers, without concealing difficulties and problems facing the builders of the new society, he wrote: "This is the country of Leninism, a country which is meeting the challenge of the future with a shovel in hand...."

In Aragon's prose realism triumphed as well and it is no accident that the writer combined the cycle of his most important novels under the common title of "The Real World."

The first two novels of the cycle "The Bells of Basel," and "Rich Districts," were published respectively in 1934 and 1936. Two others--"Passengers of the Imperial" and "Aurelien" were written during World War II. Finally, the fifth novel--"Communists"--was written after the war. The entire five works present a broad view of life in French society between the end of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries. Set against an accurate historical background, "The Bells of Basel" described the dramatic events which preceded World War I and the clashes among different fates and characters. For example, we see in the character of the immoral predator Diane de Nettancourt a representative of the cruel world of profit, opposed by honest working people such as Klara Zetkin, the outstanding personality in the international labor movement.

"Rich Districts" seems to be the continuation of the preceding novel, also describing the gradual degradation of bourgeois society. Here again we come across the disgusting characters of the "knights of profits," such as Emile Barrel, the owner of a chocolate factory, or the son of Adrien Arnault, the son of a shopkeeper, who sets up in his own little city a shock troop of strikebreakers.

The novel "Passengers of the Imperial," which covers a period of several decades, has as its main character the coupon-clipper Pierre Mercadier, who is indifferent to anything other than money, who slides toward the precipice of World War I, despite doing everything possible to ignore politics.

Finally, the main character in "Aurelien," the young Lertiloi, spiritually devastated by the war, faces the fascist occupation of his homeland ready for any betrayal.

Pitted against these and other members of the reaction are the outstanding characters of workers, progressive intellectuals and trade-union leaders. It is precisely they, people such as Armand Barbintan, who, in Aragon's concept, are the bearers of the noble ideas of social justice and goodness and the harbingers of the future democratic changes in French society.

With the exception of the novel "Communists," these works were written in the 1930s and 1940s which, in France, were noted by the growing threat of fascism

and war, on the one hand, and the successes of the Popular Front, on the other. It was precisely then that Louis Aragon became close with Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, Paul Vaillant-Couturier and Jean-Richard Bloch and with Maurice Thorez, Marcel Cachin, Jacques Duclos and other noted leaders of the French Communist Party. Subsequently he dedicated many splendid essays to them, which were to become models of artistic publicism.

Aragon's political journalism is as good as his poetry and novels. How could it be otherwise, if the writer considers political journalism as a true lofty art, a special artistic genre, which makes it possible to respond to most important events quickly, militantly and passionately? Aragon's publicism can be compared to the leading military echelon which is the first fearlessly to attack, leading behind it the other units. The fact that most of his works in the field of political journalism will remain relevant for many years is because they reflect accurately, truthfully and in a beautifully artistic form the very essence of events and their historical and philosophical meaning.

Reread for example his articles and essays "The Paris Workers Are Storming the Skies," "May You Dream Only of Spain," "The Real Germany," and "Speech at the Final Session of the Second Congress of Writers in the Defense of Culture." They were written in the prewar 1930s but to this day help the progressive people on earth in their struggle against the new threat of war, imperialist reaction and obscurantism.

What about Louis Aragon's works during World War II? Are they not part of the chronicles of the antifascist resistance, as a brilliant example of the patriotic and selfless service to his homeland, his people and the cause of freedom and peace? During the war, hiding in the south of France, the poet actively helped to create clandestine resistance groups and to organize clandestine communications. Naturally, he also wrote. In his collection of poems "A Knife in the Heart," published in 1941, Aragon compares the poet to a nightingale: "The nightingale can sing even when under heavy fire--we, the orphans, still sang under the bullets...."

What did Aragon write about? He wrote about the horrors of the global bloodshed: "The war tears with steel the living flesh but the body is not a pie to be sliced...." On his homeland desecrated by the enemy: "Look how foreign gangs are trampling on our land with their boots." On the heroism of the communist Gabriel Perry and other French patriots, who died by the hand of Hitlerite executioners: "I will die but France will live forever." The poet calls upon his compatriots to resist the aggressors: "Freedom fighters of France, can you hear your sons calling you from their prisons? Join the ranks, the battalion is advancing!" In his poem "This Is Moscow" he praises the heroism of the Soviet people who are inspiring the French patriots to battle: "The magnet which attracts is the courage of the friends...." Turning to the French Communist Party, which lost 75,000 of its sons and daughters in the struggle for the liberation of France from fascist occupation, Aragon emotionally writes: "It is my party that showed me the magnificence of France. Thank you, party, thank you for the lesson...."



The struggle which the French Communist Party and its rank-and-file troops and leaders waged holds a place of honor in the works of the writer who, for nearly 3 decades has been invariably elected member of the French Communist Party Central Committee. Between 1946 and 1953 two books of documentary prose "Man-Communist," an anthology of Aragon's best publicistic works on this topic, came out. The writer speaks of Maurice Thorez and Jacques Duclos, leaders of the French Communist Party, the outstanding communist publicists Paul Vaillant-Couturier and Gabriel Perry, and the courage of the party fighters who were executed and tortured by the fascists. The stories are short and based on precise facts and documents but, at the same time, exceptionally artistic, graphic and exciting. The summed-up character of the communist comes out of the many descriptions of actual French Communist Party leaders. "Man-communist," Aragon writes, "worker, peasant or intellectual, is a person who has been able to see the world so clearly that he can no longer forget this clarity which has become to him forever more precious than anything, more precious than his deepest interests and even his own life. The man-communist is he who puts humanity higher than himself. The man-communist is he who demands nothing for himself but everything for mankind. Yes, he has thousands of wishes. He thirsts for happiness, health and safety but not for himself alone but for everyone and is ready to pay for it with his own health, his own happiness, his own safety and his own life."

Aragon's greatest work was the epic "Communists," five volumes of which were printed between 1949 and 1951 (subsequently a new and revised edition of the novel came out). This is a truly monumental work which excitedly narrates the tragedy experienced by the French people in 1939-1940, and the initial stage of the struggle waged by the communists and other patriots against the fascist aggressors and for the freedom and independence of their homeland. We see in the living characters of the fitter Vallier, the metalworker Blanchard and his wife Paulette, the front-line veteran Joseph Jigoua, who lost both hands and his eyes in the war, the simple working people, the rank-and-file members of the French Communist Party, inseparably linked with the people's masses.

Louis Aragon frequently turns to the past in order to understand the present better and to look at, to imagine the future more clearly. This is expressed in his novel "The Holy Week," which came out in 1958. The personal drama of the gifted painter Theodore Jericho, who tries to find his place among hostile confronting forces against the historical background of Napoleon's "Hundred Days," ranging from the supporters of the Bourbon monarchy to the Bonapartists. The search of the painter is hard and complex. In the final account, however, he finds the true way and joins the people.

Arguing against the critics of "The Holy Week," who did not consider this novel as typically realistic, the writer once again turns to the concept of realism today. "... If Lenin's theory of reflection in art is accurate-- something I profoundly believe," Aragon wrote, "one way or another we are reflecting our age and one way or another we reflect in our works the process of progress of mankind toward socialism.... To ensure the continuity of dynamics in literature and art together, and to march in step with the historical evolution of mankind is, in fact, the task of the artists who consider themselves supporters of a consistent scientific realism."

Naturally, Aragon clearly sees, realizes the entire complexity and contradictoriness of the contemporary world. His works are imbued with profound philosophical thoughts on the meaning of life and the purpose of man on earth. The poet constantly looks for answers to many difficult and frequently painful questions which do not allow peace to his mind and his soul: "Listening to the earth, I can hear the long and bitter wailing which pierces the world." According to him the main purpose of the artist is the selfless service to the people, to mankind: "Having given of yourself without regret, without expecting any rewards, leave the way you came--naked." However, the poet's works are deeply optimistic, for he has a profound faith in life, love and justice on earth:

Sing of life and sing of people created for life  
Children and the fragrance of lavender in summer's heat,  
Sing of love, sing the words of those in love,  
Sing the strength of your hands, your daily toil,  
Sing of the rose, sing of the blueness of your endless sky...

A century of good has been predicted and it lies ahead.

However, all of this comprehensive creativity, Aragon's entire active efforts, do they not serve this comprehensive advance and triumph of this "century of goodness"--the century of communism? We already mentioned his most important works of prose, particularly important among which is the "Communists" epic. One after the other his experimental-lyrical novels "A Serious Death" and "Blanche or Oblivion" came out, respectively, in 1965 and 1967. The novel "Henri Matisse" came out in 1971. It is a wonderful artistic-publicistic study of the art of this famous painter. Aragon's novels, stories, essays and publicistic articles or, in a word, his entire prose, have justifiably put him in the ranks of the outstanding writers of our time. However, even without his prose (something difficult to imagine), his amazing poetry itself would have earned Aragon world fame.

Let us merely recall his main poetic anthologies published during the war and after it: "The Eyes of Elsa," "Panopticum," "French Dawn," "Once Again a Knife in the Heart," "Eyes and Mind," "My Caravans," "Poets," "Elsa's Mejnoun," "Rooms," and "The Unfinished Novel." This is merely part of the tremendous, complex and unique world of Aragon's poetry, which is focused on our contemporary with his thoughts, emotions, hopes, concerns, successes and failures, with his faith and disappointments and his traditions, ties with the past and striving toward the future, in a word, the 20th century man, who is already looking into the 21st century: "Having allowed the universe to penetrate into my being, I would like to become its rich light, to describe what I have seen in all my metamorphoses."

What is typical of Aragon's poetry? Above all, as is the case with the poetry of Mayakovskiy, it is a closest possible tie, an interweaving, an interpenetration of civic with love lyricism and infinite sincerity: "I am prepared to speak about everything bluntly, with no embellishments, about friends and about love." He shows the courage and inflexible resolve to defend his principles to the end: "I am not among those who cheated life...."

I never hid from storms...." He shows a noble reverence of women and infinite respect for true and selfless love: "Love to the point of madness..., and make the whole world part of your happiness...." Finally, we have the striking wealth of his words, the rare imagery of his style, and the wonderful harmony of the content and form of most of his poetry.

The fact that Aragon's art and comprehensive activities include occasional controversial aspects may be explained most frequently by the contradictoriness of the world around him, the complexity of the problems which the poet must resolve. The truly creative search and daring experiment does not always and immediately yield success but includes the possibility of an annoying blunder or failure. However, is it proper and just to judge of a beautiful architectural ensemble by noting only isolated cracks or scratches? That is precisely the way we see Aragon's art, as a splendid, harmonious and monumental ensemble which has justifiably placed him in the honor ranks of the greatest masters of our culture.

However, the image of the poet and writer would remain unfinished unless we recall his tremendous contribution to the great cause of peace and the noble cause of reciprocal understanding, rapprochement and friendship among nations and above all between the peoples of France and the Soviet Union. Whereas in their time the French readers were able to read in their own language many works by Soviet writers, they largely owe this to Louis Aragon and Elsa Triolet. Aragon's merit in strengthening friendly relations between friends and the USSR has been noted by two Soviet orders--the Order of the October Revolution and the Order of the Friendship Among the Peoples. Last year he was awarded the Order of the Legion of Honor.

At the ceremony during which he was awarded the Order of the Friendship Among the Peoples, in the Kremlin in 1977, Aragon emphasized that he is an old friend of the Soviet Union. When I first came to your country, the poet said, one could still see noticeable traces of the civil war. Subsequently, whenever I came to visit you, I could see the changing features of your homeland. What I have seen now, however, goes beyond anything I could say to express my admiration of the tremendous changes which have taken place in your country within such a short time, for 60 years is no more than the span of a single human life.

Yes, our country and the entire world have experienced tremendous changes since the Great October Revolution, about which Louis Aragon heard for the first time while in the trenches of the world war. At that time he was a front-line medic and a beginning and still unknown poet. However, were these not the terrible times during which Aragon started on this hard but glorious road which brought him to the peaks of the poetical Olympus and worldwide fame? Was it not then that the poet joined the hard battle for social progress, human happiness and the triumph of peace on earth, which he described yet once again in one of his recent poems:

## PORTUGAL FACES ELECTIONS ONCE AGAIN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 1982 pp 84-89

[Article by Antonio Dias Lourenco, Communist Party of Portugal Central Committee Political Commission, editor-in-chief of AVANTE , central organ of the CPP]

[Text] Today the people of Portugal find themselves once again on the cross-roads. The question is the following: What will be the direction which the country's further development will take?

The choice of a correct solution to the urgent problems which have developed as a result of the policy of the reactionary "democratic alliance" government depends on the democratic forces, on their political initiative. Nevertheless, a real threat faces the basic gains of the April 1974 revolution in the country.

The law on the constitutional revision--the result of the behind-the-screen conspiracy of the reactionary ruling bloc of the so-called "democratic alliance," led by the socialist party, headed by Mario Soares--represents a direct threat to the democratic regime which was established thanks to the "captains' revolution" of 25 April 1974. The purpose of the law is to give the reaction the freedom to maneuver, and to open to it a way to an anti-democratic coup d'etat. The "democratic alliance" is ready to pass new laws which would give it the necessary levers with which to achieve its antidemocratic objectives.

Domestic reaction--the loyal ally of world imperialism--has been concocting plans for subverting democracy in Portugal for quite some time. The reaction was defeated at the 7 December 1980 presidential elections. Now, however, it has been given support, as a result of which a situation entailing consequences which are hard to predict may develop in the country.

Unquestionably, the wish of the reaction to change the governmental system conflicts with the desire of the Portuguese people, their true interests and the requirements related to the country's political, economic and social life and the development process which began after the revolution and has continued over the past 8 years. That is why the subversive plans of the "democratic alliance" stand on weak grounds. The Portuguese democratic forces have the possibility of defeating them.

## A Government Unconcerned With the Needs of the Country and the People

A deep gap has opened between the leadership of the "democratic alliance" and the Portuguese people.

The "democratic alliance" and the leadership of the socialist party have undertaken to revise the constitution at a time when the heavy burden of the economic crisis has fallen on the shoulders of the toiling Portuguese people. The "democratic alliance" government has brought the country to the brink of catastrophe. The economic and financial crises have already reached an alarming level. Portugal's dependence on foreign capital has increased.

The balance of trade deficit is increasing as well: whereas in 1975 it totaled 42 million contos, under the "democratic alliance" government it reached 230 million in 1980 and 330 million in 1981 (1 conto equals 1,000 escudos). During the first quarter of this year the balance of trade deficit increased by 40 percent compared with the same period in 1981. Preliminary estimates indicate that by the end of the year it will reach the huge amount of 400 million contos. In the first 5 months of 1981 payments for imports accounted for 53.2 percent of the foreign trade balance, declining to 40.8 percent in the first 5 months of 1982. The balance deficit in current operations, which are the basis of the balance of payments, reached the astronomical sum of \$10.8 billion in the first 3 months of 1982!

A trend toward increased balance of payment deficits is noted. The foreign debt of the country is such that Portugal could virtually declare bankruptcy. The foreign debt which totaled \$6,584,000,000 in 1979 increased to \$10,006,000,000 in 1981 under the "democratic alliance" government and to the striking figure of \$11.4 billion in the first quarter of 1982, i.e., an amount which considerably exceeds the holdings of the National Bank of Portugal. In other words, during the first 2 years of rule by the "democratic alliance" the foreign debt increased by as much as during the 6 preceding years. On a per capita basis this means that every citizen of Portugal owes foreign moneybags 110 contos.

To this we must add that the devaluation of the escudo, which took place under the pressure of the International Monetary Fund and the largest members of the European Economic Community, intensified even further Portugal's economic independence and struck a most heavy blow on the main population income, the wages of the working people above all.

Last July, for no objective reasons whatever, the "democratic alliance" government devalued the escudo by 13.75 percent compared to the currency of the FRT, a country which holds a basic position in Portuguese imports, and by 9.5 percent in terms of the U.S. dollar, the United States being Portugal's main lender. Between March 1981 and March 1982 the value of the dollar rose from 56.43 to 69.21 escudos; by July 1982 the dollar was already worth 84 escudos.

The increasing payment of interest on loans and the declining amount of credits are the factors which paralyze the country's economy and are essentially harming the interests of the small and medium entrepreneurs, merchants and landowners.

Currently the industrial production indicators are at their lowest level ever. In 1981 industrial production rose by no more than 0.4 percent while productive capital was used at no more than 80 percent of capacity. Stocks of unsold finished products increased considerably and the number of bankruptcies rose sharply. Therefore, the overall picture of the Portuguese economy today is one of stagnation and decline.

The planned Portuguese affiliation with the European Economic Community is considered by the ruling coalition as a solution to the crisis. In reality, however, this is no more than a move in the political game of the right-wing forces aimed against the economic interests of the country and the gains of the 25 April revolution.

#### A Course of Elimination of the Gains of the April Revolution

The accelerated restoration of the economic and political domination of big capital, the rebirth of the monopolies and big landownership and the establishment of a new reactionary dictatorship are the objectives of the ruling coalition. Their implementation would eliminate the great accomplishments of the April revolution, abolish the rights and freedoms of the working people, denationalize the enterprises and abolish the agrarian reform. The "democratic alliance" leadership, relying on the support of American imperialism, is persistently acting in precisely that direction and is pursuing a policy of restoration of capitalist power, which was initiated as early as 1976, when the government headed by Mario Soares was in power.

Democratic legality and constitutional norms are being openly violated. Portugal's main national resources and the most profitable enterprises are being given to the big entrepreneurs, landowners and foreign capitalists. The drastically increasing cost of living, the overall worsening of the living conditions of the working people and the middle classes, and the increased pressure which the state and the enterprise owners are applying on the labor and popular movements are the consequences of a policy stubbornly pursued by the "democratic alliance" leadership. In 1981 real wages dropped by 4 percent; they continued to drop in the first quarter of 1982, a trend which is intensifying with every passing year under the "democratic alliance" government.

Meanwhile, the government has compensated for the expropriated assets of the big capitalists and landowners during the revolution by paying them more than 83 million contos out of frozen funds (totaling about 100 million). Such payments will reach 120 million contos. This money went into the hands of 1,000 capitalists among the big stockholders and enterprise owners.

Unemployment is growing in town and country. The number of "surplus manpower" reached 450,000 in the first quarter of 1982. The unemployed are

essentially young people who are entering the job market and women. In the past there was virtually no unemployment in the areas in which the agrarian reform had taken place. Today they number more than 20,000. Therefore, more than 14 percent of the Portuguese able-bodied population are currently unemployed.

The "democratic alliance" government is continuing its frenzied attack on the rights of the working people. In particular, it is drafting a new labor code which, if approved and adopted, would have an extremely adverse effect on the rights and freedoms of the working people and will particularly harm their right to strike.

In other words, the antipeople's and antidemocratic nature of almost 3 years of political activities of the ruling coalition are being manifested most clearly.

#### The Movement of the Popular Masses--A Decisive Factor of Political Change

The overwhelming majority of the Portuguese people are against the "democratic alliance" government. That is precisely why today a truly mass popular movement has assumed unparalleled scope. This year not only the working class of town and country but the other population classes and strata, who had remained under the influence of the "democratic alliance" for quite some time, have joined in the struggle against the government's policy. Throughout the country millions of Portuguese took part in the big demonstrations of 25 April and 1 May, the "peace march" and "march against unemployment" and numerous other street demonstrations in defense of the economic and political gains of the revolution.

The striking movement has reached its peak in the entire history of the Portuguese working class. The general strikes of 12 February and 11 May 1982 stand out in terms of scope and political content among the increasing number of strikes.

The strikes which took place under the guidance of the General Confederation of Portuguese Working People--the National Intersyndicate--proved the extensive organizational and mobilizing possibilities of the Portuguese working class and the strength of its democratic convictions and political maturity and activeness.

It took no more than 5 days to prepare for the 11 May strike. This was a tremendous political demonstration which called for the resignation of the "democratic alliance" government. Its participants objected to the cruel way the authorities dealt with the workers in Porto during their May Day demonstration, when two people were killed and many severely wounded. The 11 May action was not so large as the 12 February strike, which involved more than 1.5 million people. I repeat, however, that the preparation of the 11 May strike within such a short time was possible only thanks to the high political consciousness of the Portuguese working class. Both strikes represent most outstanding pages in the history of the struggle waged by the Portuguese proletariat.

Therefore, the movement of the masses, which assumed a new scope and variety, may be said to have made a qualitative leap. Currently it has become a decisive factor in the struggle for the fastest possible turn in the country's political course and the formulation of a democratic alternative to the rule by the "democratic alliance."

#### The Spirit of 25 April Lives in the Armed Forces

The revolutionary spirit of 25 April has made itself apparent once again in the Armed Forces Movement (MFA). This was clearly manifested under the conditions of the energizing of the popular masses.

Together with the entire people, the democratically leaning military extensively participated in the major parades and meetings on 25 April 1982 marking the anniversary of the "captains' revolution." The participation of the most progressive military members of the Revolutionary Council was particularly important. Thousands of military servicemen celebrated the eighth anniversary of the revolution in their units and subunits.

Along with the demonstrations of the "April revolution captains," sergeants and privates loyal to the ideals of democracy held joint political meetings. Gen Ramalho Eanes attended the most important of them (for the first time since 1975) as a "captain in the April revolution" and president of the republic.

The meeting held by 100 military servicemen, members of the Movement of the Armed Forces, which was held last June, at which they openly opposed the illegal revision of the constitution, whose purpose is to put an end to the Revolutionary Council and to deprive the president of the republic of the right to appoint personnel to key positions in the armed forces and to disband the government, thus making him a politically helpless figurehead, was particularly important.

The "Captains of the April Revolution" reasserted at that meeting that the MFA was ready to defend the democratic system and to block the attempts of the "democratic alliance" government to make use of the army to suppress democracy.

#### Revision of the Constitution and Capitulationism of the Socialist Party

The deal struck between the "democratic alliance" and the socialist party with a view to an illegal revision of the constitution was made, as we pointed out, under the conditions of an acute political and economic crisis and a crisis of the governmental power institutions, against the background of a noticeable aggravation of the class struggle in Portugal.

Let us recall that Mario Soares resigned from the position of secretary general of his party in order not to have to support the candidacy of Gen Ramalho Eanes, nominated by the socialist party, at the 7 December 1980 presidential elections. He tried to influence the outcome of the vote in favor of the fascist Gen Soares Carneiro, the "democratic alliance"



candidate. However, after the "democratic alliance" and its candidate suffered a crushing defeat, Mario Soares resumed his position as leader of the socialist party. Using conspiratorial methods he gained absolute control over its leadership.

The current deal made by M. Soares with the "democratic alliance," behind the back of the people and the socialist party itself, with a view to the illegal revision of the constitution, crowns a long string of concessions to the right wing made by the socialist party secretary general and his retinue, starting with the "hot summer" of 1975, remembered for its unbridled anti-communism. Let us particularly single out in this retinue Almeida Santos, a lawyer and former minister who had worked in Mozambique in colonial times and had acquired immense wealth in the colony, as well as Jaime Gama, known for his ties with right-wing and NATO circles.

To this day an acute struggle is being waged within the socialist party. The majority of the parliamentary socialist group does not support Mario Soares and many of its members have left the party. Therefore, the conspiracy between Soares and the "democratic alliance" not only serves the reaction and strikes at democracy but is a crime committed toward his own party.

Unquestionably, the future will entirely expose Mario Soares's treacherous role. Today, the leadership of the socialist party he heads, together with the "democratic alliance" is openly fighting the president of the republic in an effort to make him resign. It is also fighting the Revolutionary Council whose mandate expires in October.

Therefore, the conspiracy between Mario Soares and the "democratic alliance" eloquently proves the betrayal of democracy and the gains of the April revolution.

#### The Communist Party--The Heart and the Nerve of the Popular Movement

The Communist Party of Portugal is the spirit and the nerve of the worker, democratic and popular movements. Under exceptionally difficult conditions the communists are systematically pursuing their policy. Their influence in the country continues to grow. Unlike the other parties, which are torn by sharp internal dissension, the CPP is an example of ideological and political unity and high-level organization.

Currently the CPP is the living proof that firm support of principles, loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and unbreakable friendship with the Soviet Union make possible a successful pursuit of a policy of alliances and joint activities with all democratic forces within the country and peace-loving forces throughout the world.

Under the conditions of the current regrouping of political forces in Portugal the role of the CPP in the country's labor movement grows tremendously as the most important defender of democracy and the gains of the 25 April revolution. The CPP policy is the only truly democratic alternative to the policy of the "democratic alliance" and its government.

The measures suggested by the CPP for resolving the crisis in the country are meeting with the increasing support of the Portuguese people.

The resignation of the current government, the disbanding of the republic's national assembly, the creation of a provisional government and the holding of new general elections are the requirements which (within the framework of legality and constitutional democratic institutions) are consistent with the profound expectations of the people. These expectations are consistent with the existing objective and subjective conditions of the struggle and the deployment of political forces in Portugal.

The successes which were achieved in the last elections for local governments increased the influence of the CPP which acquired broader possibilities of participating in the democratic solution of the problems facing the country. The members of the "Alliance for Popular Unity" electoral bloc, in which the CPP is the main and decisive force, are heading the governments of 50 municipalities covering 28.5 percent of Portugal's territory.

Having studied the situation which developed in the country, the recently held September plenum of the CPP Central Committee reached the conclusion that given the current deployment of political forces in Portugal a real possibility exists of preventing a sharp turn to the right, planned by the reaction under the cover of a constitutional revision, which would essentially mean a real coup d'etat. The forthcoming elections for local governments, planned for the end of this year, will be of prime importance to the fate of the country. The CPP has raised two basic objectives for the elections: energizing the struggle against the antidemocratic rule of the reactionary alliance currently in power and strengthening the positions of the local truly democratic forces. In calling for the unity of all democrats, the CPP Central Committee plenum emphasized the need comprehensively to increase the economic, social and political struggle waged by the working people.

Whatever the circumstances, the CPP will continue to build its principled and consistent policy on the basis of the real situation. Inseparably linked with the masses, it will define means for protecting and rescuing the democratic regime and the gains of the April revolution in Portugal.

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## RELIGION, CHURCH, POLITICS

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[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences M. Mchedlov]

[Text] Only a few decades ago it seemed to many that specific institutions usually associated with the past such as religion and its organizations, having surrendered their positions under the pressure of scientific knowledge and social progress, would stop being factors in national social life and global politics and would be unable to have any kind of serious ideological influence on the masses. As a rudimentary phenomenon, religion had only to live its already short century in remote corners of the planet, untouched by civilization, or in the minds of the dying generations. Basically, this was an accurate view, for it accurately reflected (or, rather, anticipated) an objective historical trend. However, this was only in principle and only as a trend.

The reality of today has amended these assessments. To begin with, this applies to the historical deadlines and scale of the functioning of religion, and the degree of its activeness and influence on the sociopolitical situation in one country or another and on some international affairs. Along with a general weakening of religious positions we see today a noticeable energizing of clerical institutions, which are directly and sometimes quite persistently trying to participate in resolving a number of topical contemporary problems. This may be noted in different continents and countries with different sociopolitical systems and varying historical and cultural traditions.

The interpretation of the political and ideological content of the current practices of religious organizations is of far more than merely academic interest. We find here the criss-crossing of problems which cannot leave indifferent Marxist-Leninist theory, which is comprehensively exposing the objective social laws, or the socialist society, the activities of which are based on scientific principles and which is engaged in the dialectical-materialistic upbringing of the broad masses, or the communist and worker parties, which are heading the struggle of the peoples for liberation from social and national oppression.

The supporters of clericalism and the bourgeois propagandists, inflating some aspects of real social processes, enthusiastically speak of a "religious boom" today, of an "Islamic renaissance," a "considerably enhanced role of

Roman Catholicism in world politics," and so on. Such versions are used in promoting the thesis of the unchanging "liberating potential of religion," and the ineradicable need for religion at all times and in all societies. In a word, a comprehensive speculation is taking place on the characteristics of the operation of contemporary religions, within the frameworks of which a variegated mosaic of mutually conflicting and even mutually exclusive trends is taking shape.

In reality, we can see today the increasing breakdown of traditional forms of religious belief, and the abandonment of religion and the church on the part of a tremendous share of the population in bourgeois and above all socialist countries.

However, looking at the nonsocialist part of the world, we may note a different trend as well. Here the factors which hinder the intensification of a secular feeling are quite strong. It is a question not only of the aspiration of the leaders of religious organizations to do everything possible to strengthen the positions of religion and recruit new followers with the help of the "updated" and refined interpretation of basic dogmas, the modernizing of rituals and use of church practices. It is important also to take into consideration that religious beliefs in some population strata are reborn and reproduced in a great variety of forms ranging from openly fanatical sects (such as satanism in the United States) to "intellectual" mystical cults. Finally, over huge areas on earth (the zone of the national liberation struggle and the developing countries) the role of the religious factor in mass movements has increased considerably.

The reasons for a certain animation of religion and energizing of church activities in different areas vary. In the capitalist countries, modern scientific and technical progress does not lead in the least automatically to the mass extinction of religious feelings. Any other expectation would simply mean to galvanize the simplistic ideas of technological determinism which simply base the development of all social components on that of the scientific and technical revolution, ignoring the very nature of bourgeois production relations, which protect and even aggravate social antagonisms as production forces grow.

The nature of religion as a result of the "self-explosion" of the earthly foundation (Marx), as a product legitimately caused by the conditions of an antagonistic system, in which the social roots of religion are deeply hidden, is decisive in understanding this circumstance. To this day the exploiting society draws its organic faults--crises and unemployment, suppression of the rights and freedoms of the working people, alienation of the individual and growth of criminality--from the widespread feelings of suppression and insecurity and the inner need for religious consolation. The "perverse world" promotes corresponding sensations and perceptions.

Furthermore, added to the traditional social foundations for religion in bourgeois society, together with the extreme aggravation of socioeconomic contradictions within the imperialist system, is the threat of thermonuclear war, which is fraught with tremendous human casualties and the danger of an

ecological crisis. It is precisely such problems which have become lately the focal point of attention of a variety of religious leaders. Thus, in the audience he granted in the autumn of 1980 to those attending the International Congress on Canon Law, Pope John Paul II particularly emphasized the role of religion in resolving such problems. Since the future of mankind is threatened and is constantly subjected to the risk of destruction, he said, the need for religion is becoming increasingly urgent.

In discussing the new global problems, the Western press writes a great deal about mass attacks of fear, despair and disappointment, stress and alienation, and the wish to be saved from the "thrice-insane world." This creates within the people who live under the conditions of a military psychosis, increased criminality, drug addiction and pornography, which are so typical of contemporary bourgeois civilization, the need to find, even be it in religion, some kind of psychological escape, tranquility and moral support.

The spiritual upheaval of the masses, which are experiencing social and economic difficulties and privations, and the search for a shelter in the world of an illusory concept, are being comprehensively exploited by professional religious leaders and ruling circles. The latter are trying somehow to tap and channel the intellectual and emotional-psychological thrusts of the people, particularly the working people, and to channel their feelings and behavior within a framework which cannot threaten the foundations of the system.

Religion and religious organizations are supported by the powers that be in a variety of manners: financial, economic, sociopolitical and moral-psychological. Thus, the bourgeois ideological services are invariably trying to instill in the public mind profoundly antidemocratic stereotypes such as claims that it is only believers who are "model family men," "positive people," and "reliable citizens," artificially pitting believers against atheists who are presented as second-class unreliable members of society. To this effect socio-legal sanctions are used (religious oaths in courtrooms, preferential employment of believers in some positions, and so on).

Obviously, the close ties existing among the church, the state and the ruling classes largely explains the reason for the fact that the satisfaction of the need to "pacify the disturbed soul" takes place by far not exclusively along traditional religious channels. Frequent efforts are made to develop new forms of religion which have not been compromised politically and morally.

In this respect the situation with religion in the United States is quite eloquent. Here all kinds of cults, sects and mystical-religious organizations have become widespread like never before and have attracted about 20 million followers after World War II alone. These are people essentially alienated from bourgeois society, bent down by social and racial inequality, deprived of all means of existence, suffering from afflictions and receiving no aid, or members of the middle classes which have sunk to the bottom of society.

Radical elements may be found among them as well (essentially young), who are drastically opposed to the existing way of life, racism, police arbitrariness, militarism and the violation of already curtailed bourgeois democratic rights and freedoms. It is precisely they who are the first to be persecuted and repressed, for which reason they must hide from official society and occasionally become the victims of religious fanaticism and bigotry. This was clearly the situation of the 914 members of the Jim Jones "People's Temple" who died in the jungles of Guyana in 1978 under mysterious circumstances.

It is not astounding that the profound reasons for the tragedy which took place in the Guyanan jungles are neglected by the bourgeois mass information media, which reduce everything to the "demoniacal" power of the leader of the sect to rule the people, which allegedly led to the voluntary suicide of the religious fanatics (see M. Dem, "Jim Jones--le demon de Guyana" [Jim Jones--the demon of Guyana]. Paris, 1979), neglecting the main culprit--American bourgeois society.

A specific dialectical-materialistic analysis enables us to understand the reasons for the energizing of religion in other parts of the earth as well. Thus, a certain increased influence of Islam on political processes in a number of Asian and African countries may be explained in terms of quite definite historical and sociopolitical factors. Let us note a few among them.

The considerable upsurge of the national liberation movement in the postwar period, the breakdown of the global colonial system and the founding and establishment of the young states would have been inconceivable without a social awakening and gradual involvement with energetic historical activities on the part of the tremendous majority of the population of these countries. Since religion is the only mass form of social consciousness in these countries, the social and national aspirations inevitably assume a religious form. Obviously, at the present stage they cannot be formulated, not to say understood, in terms of any other ideological form. The process of decolonizing is related to the increased influence of Islam on the political life of the former colonies also because members of other faiths, frequently imposed by force, have been the representatives of the oppressors-colonizers ruling the former colonies for many decades. The movement for national independence and freedom was paralleled by a turn to religious traditions and customs which opposed the religious morality and norms of behavior of the foreign colonizers.

The place of religion in world politics in the contemporary ideological confrontation and in the development of progressive movements cannot be understood if abstracted from the characteristics of the religious complex. This is an exceptionally complicated phenomenon based on false and antiscientific conceptual postulates and which enjoys widespread mass support among the various population strata. The study of the current practices of religious organizations indicates that the social effect and political consequences of their activities may be quite disparate and conflicting: direct interaction with the powers that be, sanctification of social inequality and oppression

paralleled by the development of democratic, progressive and liberation movements which express the expectations of the popular masses and represent a form of their class activities.

Today this is manifested with particular clarity in the Muslim countries. The anti-Shah and anti-imperialist revolution in Iran took place under its banners. However, it became clear quite soon that substantial differences in their views on the further course of events existed among the heterogeneous social forces which had participated in it. The counterrevolutionary elements in Afghanistan are making extensive use of the ideas of Islam although most believers--the toiling masses--support the people's regime and are actively participating in building the new life.

The CPSU Central Committee accountability reports to the 26th party congress provided a profound analysis of the new and conflicting phenomena in the Islamic world and a clear substantiation of the attitude toward it. It pointed out that "in some Oriental countries Islamic slogans have been actively raised of late. We, communists, respect the religious convictions of the people who believe in Islam or in other religions. The main thing is the objective pursued by the forces which raise one slogan or another. A liberation struggle may develop under the banners of Islam. This is confirmed by historical experience, including most recent history. However, this also proves that Islamic slogans are also used by the reaction which promotes counterrevolutionary mutinies. Consequently, what really matters is the nature of the specific movement." Such an approach to the determination of objective social processes helps us to clarify the nature of the policy pursued by one circle or another, not only in this part of the earth and not only within the framework of Muslim organizations.

The extensive interclass foundation on which the clergy realize and the affiliation of religious believers with conflicting class forces complicates the interconnection between politics and religion and requires their thorough and comprehensive consideration. It is also important to remember that religion never operates in a "pure manner," so to say, in its usual meaning. In practice the activities of all basic religious organizations--Islamic, Judaic, Christian or Buddhist, always go beyond the range of the specific religious needs of the believers. One way or another, such organizations always claim the role of universal tutors in personal and public life and in the political orientation of their supporters. They try to develop within them clerical views on a broadest possible range of problems. They actively aspire, wherever specific conditions permit, to interfere in the solution of public and governmental problems, making extensive use of widespread philosophical-moral and social doctrines. These are precisely the type of clerical ideas and actions which are opposed by the progressive forces which demand restrictions and bans not based on the religious activities of the clergy but the separation between church and like problems, an end to coercing the civil consciousness of the believers and the use of religious feelings for political purposes.

The logic and mechanism of the ideological elaborations with the help of which some religious leaders substantiate their active penetration into

sociopolitical life remain unchanged. Hiding behind the plausible mission of safeguarding the norms of human morality, the clerical concepts include a totally purposeful policy. They express the views of specific social groups and impose their attitude on existing social institutions and movements, although they try in this case to act on behalf of all groups and classes and the entire society.

Let us mention in this connection the recently persistently proclaimed idea of a "new Europe" by the Vatican, which would rise above the individual countries and would be united less on the basis of economic and political interests than general Christian principles. It was in that spirit, for example, that the pope spoke to the Polish bishops in Czestochowa in the summer of 1979. The concept of a "Christian Europe" clearly showed the essence of clerical social theories. Utopian ethical-sociological plans, which ignore real class relations, are based on the postulate that all social phenomena and processes must be based on stipulations legislated and guaranteed by the church.

The concept of "higher and permanent objectives," promoted by clerically leaning leaders of different religious organizations, are debunked when compared against reality which, in the final account, determines the trend of the socioreligious programs themselves. Let us consider the situation in the nonsocialist countries. Here, abstracting ourselves from purely rhetorical statements, the right-wing clergy is promoting in practice the slogan of protecting the foundations of exploitation relations, existing social institutions and procedures through the use of religion and the church apparatus, the influence of which the ruling classes themselves are trying to strengthen. It is no accident that, as a rule, politicians who are trying to earn the support of the church for their antipeople's platform and which succeed in such efforts, are supporters of reactionary clericalism. This can be clearly seen in the example of Judaism, which is comprehensively used by the Zionists in substantiating their imperialist plans.

In its efforts to rehabilitate the obsolete system and improve the possibility of upgrading the effectiveness of the struggle against Marxist-Leninist ideology, the propaganda machinery of the exploiting society invariably turns to clericalism. Skillfully juggling with "lofty" religious ideas, in their public addresses the bourgeois political leaders do everything possible to present the basic socioclass contradictions of our epoch as a confrontation between communism and religion and between immorality and morality. In this case a record has been set by the present U.S. administration. All of its actions aimed at the arms race, subverting detente, developing an antisoviet and anticommunist hysteria, suppressing national liberation movements and expanding the aggressive positions of American imperialism are pharisaically concealed behind religious piety.

U.S. policy, as the policies of other capitalist countries, is not only resorting to religious camouflage but is directly supported by the church organizations and their right-wing leadership. Thus, tangible clerical support was given to Reagan during the presidential elections held in the



United States in 1980. According to press information, political organizations headed by conservative Protestant preachers acted together with the right-wing Republicans and helped them to win the elections.

All of this emphasizes the need for a specific historical approach to exposing the sociopolitical content of each manifestation of clericalism, for depending on the level of social development and the tasks which face society at a specific point in time, a great variety of social forces resort to the use of religion for political purposes. That is why in assessing any mass movement which takes place under religious banners it would be contradictory to replace strictly ideological categories with political categories and to ignore the conflict between the ideological cover of movements and the interests of the believers themselves based on sociopolitical circumstances.

In the course of its refined subversive actions against real socialism, imperialism is involving more actively than ever before the right-wing leaders of religious organizations and is trying to make use of their hostile attitude toward the new world, a world which is making increasingly apparent its specific humanistic potential for the sake of the good and happiness of the working man and which is therefore drawing the sympathy, hopes and thoughts of the broad popular masses.

Since freedom of conscience and the attitude toward religion and the church are important criteria of democracy and humanism in any country, the opponents of real socialism quite frequently try to speculate on such matters. In an effort to promote hostility toward the collectivistic principles of social life and to "instill fear" of it (as of the liberation revolutionary movement) among uninformed people, they present as a basic principle of the socialist system restrictions imposed on believers, the persecution of religion and, in general, the administrative-legal banning of religious organizations.

Unfortunately, it cannot be claimed that such slanderous propaganda has no effect on some population strata. The more backward and less exposed to knowledge and education and familiarity with the real state of affairs in the world and the liberation struggle they are, the greater the chances become of promoting among them a fanatical hatred of atheism, communism and socialism. Some current occurrences in the Middle East confirm this fact.

The study of official religious-political practices in the capitalist countries confirms that despite all confessional differences and modernization processes, they essentially preserve their nature as social consolation, ethical reformism of the liberal-bourgeois variety and ideological and political support of a historically doomed society based on private ownership, and the rejection of the class struggle and of radical social change.

Of late it has become usual for all religious organizations operating in bourgeois society to accompany all speeches on sociopolitical problems with statements in defense of the working people, workers in particular, and of all the deprived. In a large number of his speeches, in the course of his trips to African, Latin American and Asian countries, Pope John Paul II

repeatedly mentioned the suffering of the peoples, their disasters, their material poverty and their social and national inequality. However, the unanswered question is how, through what means to achieve a just social system? A number of pious wishes were proclaimed while denying the right to apply active means for their implementation. Suffice it to note that the class struggle is proclaimed, as in the past, as a "cruel and insufficient system," since allegedly "the labor world must be a world of love and not of hatred" (LA DOCUMENTATION CATHOLIQUE, 4 January 1981, pp 1-4). Such prescriptions are also offered to the peoples of the developing countries, which have been suppressed by imperialism for centuries.

The activities of the religious organizations in the nonsocialist countries are increasingly characterized by their aspiration to look like a kind of "third force," allegedly identically rejecting the extremes of capitalism and the "vices" of communism. This position is quite actively propagandized in the developing countries, where the church is forced to take into consideration the fact that the masses of believers and some of the clergy, particularly the low, who are in the ranks of the national liberation movement, have fought colonialism and are now opposing neocolonialism and are struggling for social and national liberation.

Generally speaking, all churches today are displaying considerably greater historical caution and unwillingness to be tied to hated and compromised reactionary regimes. That is why periodical activities of some religious leaders, particularly in Africa, Asia and Latin America, aimed against racism, apartheid and the latest forms of colonial oppression, are frequent.

The religious leaders cannot ignore the fact that the believers who, like all working people, are experiencing an increasing socioeconomic oppression and are becoming more profoundly aware of the need to eliminate the threat of war and the arms race, demand of them a different policy, a different way of thinking and acting. In the sociopolitical area the main demands are those involving radical changes and calls for taking real steps in defending the interests of the popular masses.

The last decades have been characterized by the development within the churches of quite significant left-wing currents which oppose the official leadership, particularly its right wing, on religious and sociopolitical matters. Their appearance is a both noteworthy and complex phenomenon. There are reasons to claim that it does not merely represent a tactical maneuver but a stage in the development of the democratic forces rallied within religious organizations.

The left-wing religious currents, which take into consideration and express the situation in which the masses of believers express in a religious manner their expectations and aspirations for social justice and peace, quite sincerely consider religion a means of struggle in defense of the exploited masses. In criticizing capitalism and neocolonialism, they support the liberation movement and participate in it and promote an alliance with all democratically leaning and progressive forces and call for unity of action. Examples of this nature are found in many bourgeois and developing countries and all religious confessions.

The politically progressive positions helped by some religious circles are most closely considered by the Marxists and the revolutionary parties. This particularly applies to countries with masses of believers who are as yet to join the anticapitalist and anti-imperialist struggle.

The extensive scale of positive social movements which assume a religious appearance and the dissemination of modernistic interpretations of religious faith leads some foreign authors (including leftists) into dead ends. Unable to answer the question of how to combine the conservative social function of religion with the existence of progressive ideas and movements within the religious organizations, they start talking about changes occurring in the essential nature of religion. This leads to demands for a revision of basic Marxist concepts regarding religious ideology, which is today allegedly becoming a revolutionizing factor, a "ferment" which helps the working people in their struggle against the injustices of the capitalist world. Hence appeals for a new interpretation of religion as a "revolutionary" system and the automatic combination of its "best components" with Marxism which, it is claimed, could resolve all the essential problems of mankind, past and future (see E. Bloch. "Atheismus im Christentum. Zur Religion des Exodus des Reichs" [Atheism in Christendom. The Reich's Religious Exodus] Frankfurt a/M., 1973, p 299). Furthermore, new variants of religious theories are being developed (which are, incidentally, extensively advertised by bourgeois and clerical propaganda), directly identifying religious belief with mankind and the humanistic potential developed by civilization and the ideological systems in different ages, starting with antiquity. Typical on this level is the concept developed by R. Garaudy in his book "Appel aux vivants" [A Call to the Living] (Paris, 1979).

It is only a flexible but principled dialectical-materialistic analysis that enables us properly to explain the progressive nature of activities within church organizations. Here again there are definitely no reasons to revise the attitude of the Marxists toward religious ideology itself. The sober and honest political position of some believers should not influence the nature and specifics of the religious interpretation of reality. As a scientific-revolutionary doctrine, Marxism-Leninism is consistently irreconcilable toward any illusory outlook, including religion. It does not simply reject but exposes the sources of the misinterpretation of reality in the minds of the people and proves the way the "imperfect" social existence creates a religious "doubling" of the world and earmarks specific means for surmounting mystical views.

However, Marxism-Leninism is far from holding the dogmatic concept that all believers or clergymen are inevitably conservatives and even reactionaries. The complexity of life and politics is increasing and it is important in this case to take into consideration a really conflicting situation within a given religious complex. Support of progressive policy on the part of people who hold conservative conceptual positions is largely explained by the fact that the various aspects of social consciousness are attuned differently toward the social factor, class phenomena and the economic system. They are most closely related to political views and it is precisely they who react more sensitively to and directly influence objective living conditions.

The natural wish of believers to be free from the burden of oppression and their protest caused by the social needs of the working people are manifested in mass actions which sometimes occur under religious slogans. "... A political protest in a religious wrapping," V. I. Lenin taught, "is a phenomenon inherent in all nations at a given stage in their development...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 4, p 228). That is why in each separate case it is important to determine the real motivation and interests which stand behind such actions. We must also take into consideration the fact that the simply human ideas of fraternity, equality and goodness, preached by religion and reflected in the minds of millions of believers, could encourage under certain circumstances some believers to participate in general democratic, national liberation and socialist movements. In such a case, a movement developed under a religious banner can lead to progressive social change. Because of the inadequate level of consciousness and under the influence of tradition and religious upbringing democratic and progressive motivations or actions may assume a religious form although it is not internally and organically related to the true reasons for social protest. Such phenomena are noted in many bourgeois and developing countries in which believers, by secularizing religious ideals, struggle for their entirely earthly content which assumes a revolutionary nature. What is politically important here is that despite their religious cover such mass movements are progressive, for they are directed against imperialism and reaction.

The reorganization of social life and the elimination of the economic foundations and political institutions of the exploiting system affect the interests of all working people regardless of their philosophical, religious or other views. Any artificial restriction of joint actions by all toiling strata aimed at the defense of their basic interests, merely because they still hold illusory views actually holds back the development of society and hinders the solution of the social tasks included in the agenda of history. That is why the Marxist-Leninists persistently call for the unification and close class cooperation among all toiling people--atheists and believers--based on common needs, guided by Lenin's instructions to the effect that maximal flexibility in the organization of unity of action and political alliances presumes ideological principle-mindedness. An alliance can be developed not at the expense of ideological "concessions" but on the basis of the objective community of interests and a realistic understanding of social trends. Equally counterindicated here are both sectarian exclusivity and opportunistic omnivorence.

The invariable objective of the communist parties which are fighting in the capitalist countries is, on the basis of Lenin's stipulation, "the creation of a paradise on earth, which is more important to us than the unity of views of the proletariat as to a paradise in heaven" (op. cit., vol 12, p 146), which calls for strengthening and broadening joint actions with the believing masses for the sake of defending the cause of democracy, for social progress and for joint actions against monopolies, the threat of war and the thermo-nuclear danger, and the outbursts of fascism and racism. These problems were comprehensively discussed at the international meetings of communists such as the 1969 Moscow Conference, 1976 Berlin Conference and 1980 Paris Meeting.

The communists pay particular attention to organizing the unity of action with the religious believers-working people in the developing countries. The statement adopted at the meeting of representatives of communist and worker parties of the Arab countries, held in April-May 1981, noted that the broad social strata, involving political movements under Islamic slogans, must be involved for the sake of achieving the communal objectives in the struggle against imperialism, social oppression and corruption and for the preservation of national independence. "Our parties," the statement emphasized, "also warn that the imperialists and their accomplices would like to use the reactionary strata and movements concealing behind religion to subvert national unity, promote anticommunism and hostility toward all social progress and encourage religious-tribal discord. It is precisely this that is taking place in Syria where the clique of the Moslem Brotherhood is active.

The importance of strengthening the alliance between working people--believers and nonbelievers--and the urgency of cooperation among all democratic and pacifist forces would be difficult to overestimate today, when the solution of global problems affecting the entire population on earth is so urgent. This implies above all a struggle for lasting peace, against the arms race promoted by imperialism and for the preservation and consolidation of detente.

The communists support the actions of religious leaders in favor of detente and peace and against the threat of thermonuclear war. The heads of the Russian Orthodox church and many Protestant, Catholic, Buddhist and Muslim leaders have frequently made statements in this sense. Last May a world conference on "Religious Leaders of the World Against the Nuclear Threat" was held in Moscow.

Hundreds of noted representatives of the Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Hindi, Judaic, Muslim, Sikh, Shinto and Christian religions from 90 countries and all continents spent several days in interesting and meaningful debates on a broad range of urgent international problems. Concern for the growing threat of a nuclear catastrophe was expressed and an appeal for the defense of human life was heard. In its final documents, such as the appeal to the governments of the world, the conference called upon countries with nuclear armaments not to resort to their use under any circumstances ever, and "to pursue a policy of easing international tension and close cooperation in the cultural, scientific, technical and economic areas, aimed at resolving problems exclusively through peaceful means."

Naturally, the religious leaders who favor peace act on the basis of specific religious-moral arguments which cannot fail to trigger objections from the viewpoint of the scientific and materialistic understanding of the nature of sociohistorical phenomena and events. What is important, however, is that they are sincerely and actively supporting the noble objective of antiwar activities, convinced of their moral responsibility to mankind. The solution of the vital global problems calls for the tireless unification of the efforts of all people of goodwill, including supporters of different philosophical and religious views.

In analyzing the role of religion in contemporary society it is important to take into consideration that in our epoch of dynamic social change scientific outlook becomes drastically more important. This general sociological law acquires a qualitatively new manifestation in a society of real socialism, particularly in its mature stage.

The documents of the CPSU and the fraternal parties of the socialist countries invariably note that the effectiveness with which the new system is being created is directly related to the development of communist consciousness, the ideological convictions of the masses, the spiritual blossoming of the individual, the broadening of his social and cultural outlook and the mastery of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory.

The religious concept of the world (even the most modified), as an imaginary reflection in the minds of the people of external forces and phenomena, essentially belittles man, for it calls for belief in the supernatural and offers an imaginary compensation for one's own weakness, leading people away from purposeful and constructive activities. As a specific form of social consciousness it provides a program for personal and social behavior which is passive in terms of reality. All of this precisely determines the antagonism and the conflict between a religious and antiscientific outlook, on the one hand, and a dialectical-materialistic and scientific outlook, on the other.

The Marxist-Leninist approach to the problems of the surmounting of religion includes the use of consistently democratic and strictly educational means aimed at the properly argued explanation of the groundlessness of this form of idealistic outlook. The sociopolitical unity of the people in the socialist comity is ensured by the proper policy of the Marxist-Leninist parties, which includes the religious problem as well, and the consistent observance of the principles of freedom of conscience. The determination of the characteristics of an atheistic education and problems of religion and the church under socialist conditions presume a consideration of the dialectics of the general, the specific and the individual.

The general means the unscientific nature of the religious outlook, the dogmatic-idealistic nature of any religious faith regardless of whether it is in a capitalist, a developing or a socialist country.

The specific is manifested in the direction followed in the political activities and sociopolitical doctrines of clerical organizations acting under socialist conditions and other factors which support religious feelings and the new feature of the believers. The tremendous difference between the bourgeois apologetic (frequently openly anticommunist) practice of many churches in the capitalist countries and the position of the absolute majority of the clergy under socialism, loyally supporting our system, is obvious. This predetermines the success of the building of socialism and communism, the rejection of religion by large population circles, their support of the new society and the strengthened positions of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The individual is found in the specific situation which exists in each of the socialist countries, influenced by historical characteristics, the international situation, the level of activeness of the clergy and the consistency with which the political line is followed on the religious (and not only the religious) problem.

Thus, the experience in the building of socialism indicates that periods of crises in individual countries and the energizing of counterrevolutionary elements (Hungary, 1956; Czechoslovakia, 1968; Poland, 1981) are characterized by a considerable energizing of right-wing clerical forces used by foreign imperialist circles. Conversely, the antisocialist policy of the right-wing religious leaders sharply declines as a result of the consolidation and strengthening of the new society. Any weakening of its unity and errors in the practical implementation of the socialist principles invariably pour grist in the mill of right-wing, including clerical, forces.

It cannot be said that the democratic principle of the separation of church and state and school and church are being identically implemented in all socialist countries. The very interpretation of this principle, as well as the level of its implementation, depend on the historical circumstances of the country's development, the level of social consciousness and the overall social atmosphere prevailing in the country. Let us take Poland as an example. We know that of late the enemies of socialism in that country, supported by outside forces, by developing a climate of anarchy have tried to give a counterrevolutionary direction to the course of events. The clerical circles were energized when the foundations of the socialist state were threatened. Many leaders of the Roman Catholic Church, making use of the rather strong religious traditions and the large number of believers as well as the socioeconomic difficulties experienced by the country extracted rights and privileges for the church which were both inappropriate and extraneous to its nature. It was not merely a question of access to mass information media or participation in the administration of society. It was a question of the state comprehensively obeying the canons of Roman Catholic dogma and an aggressive attack mounted against laical morality and materialistic outlook. The antisocialist feelings of the clergy, together with the right-wing leaders of Solidarity, cast all possible aspersions on socialism in people's Poland. They demanded a decisive reorganization of the principles of social life and opposed collective ownership particularly zealously.

This proves the need for a differentiated study of the religious situation and the sociopolitical positions held by religious leaders, as well as the organization of atheistic education within each socialist country although, naturally, the principles governing the attitude of the new society toward religion and the church are based on Marxist-Leninist theory, are inviolable and unified.

The gradual and voluntary adoption of a dialectical-materialistic outlook by the toiling masses presumes systematic and comprehensive scientific-atheistic work, which is considered by Marxism-Leninism an important part of general cultural work with age-old traditions of progressive social thinking in all nations. The elimination of the social, ideological and psychological

premises for the existence of religion, as well as the reaching of a level of scientific knowledge in which there would be no place for a religious outlook is a gradual process the intensiveness of which varies from one country, region or continent to another. The ways and means for liberating the minds of the people from the illusory perception of the world were opened by Marxist-Leninist science and, enriched by new experience, they are being steadily applied regardless of difficulties and obstructions.

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## NOBLE INITIATIVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 82 pp 102-103

[Article by V. Nekrasov]

[Text] Sixty-five years ago, during the first hours of the life of the state of workers and peasants, the following prophetic words were heard: "The workers movement will prevail and will lay a path to peace and socialism." It was thus that V. I. Lenin, the leader of the proletarian revolution, concluded his speech on peace at the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Having approved the Decree on Peace, the congress opened the way to new principles governing relations among nations and countries, based on universal peace, recognition of the equality of nations and the independence of all countries, and proclaiming the use of open and honest methods of diplomacy. As all subsequent history confirmed, it was these principles that assumed the hard but always beneficial fate of gradually winning over on their side ever-new countries and millions of working people throughout the planet, and the extension of such a policy over increasingly wide and vitally important areas.

Sixty-five years is a long time. However, despite all changes and shifts which have taken place during that period, Lenin's Decree on Peace, which may have seemed to pertain to most important problems specific of its time, remains alive and fully active and the clarity of its formulations continues to increase. The wealth of its content and the entire depth and significance of its principles are becoming increasingly apparent. That is why to this day we turn to it as a source of ideas which have retained their invincible vital strength.

This is most clearly confirmed by the clear ties and continuity between the Decree on Peace and the basic foreign political documents issued by the CPSU and the Soviet state during past decades. The unbreakable consistent line of the general foreign policy course pursued by Lenin's party stretches from the Decree on Peace to the peace programs which were formulated by the CPSU and its last three congresses, including the peace program for the 1980s, which was approved by the 26th congress. The basic stipulations of Lenin's immortal document are part of the new USSR Constitution. Today they are used not only by the Soviet Union but by the members of the socialist comity, the liberated countries with a socialist orientation and the progressive and democratic forces the world over.

The ideas and stipulations contained in the Decree on Peace and Lenin's clarifications seem exceptionally relevant today, in the current alarming days of aggravation of international tension caused by the actions of aggressive imperialist circles.

"The question of peace is the burning problem, the great problem of our time," Lenin emphasized at the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 13). Although in a different context, by virtue of different specific reasons, it remains entirely relevant today, when the struggle against the aggressive encroachments of imperialism has assumed new worldwide dimensions. However complex the struggle might have been and whatever obstacles our party and Soviet state may have encountered in the course of the struggle, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, we have been invariably "observing one of the most important slogans of the October Revolution and Lenin's behests: peace to the peoples!"

As always, today the Soviet Union stands inflexibly loyal to the basic stipulations formulated in the first foreign policy acts of the Soviet system, found in Lenin's works of that time. The demand of peace without annexations, i.e., without the seizure of foreign territory, sounds as relevant and universally understood, firm and strict as it did during the stormy 1917, under the present circumstances created by Israeli aggression in the Middle East.

The founder of the Soviet state taught the young socialist diplomacy, flexibility and the avoidance of ultimata. However, in no case was flexibility to turn into surrender or unprincipled accommodation. Returning to the same problem, later on, Lenin said: "We have repeatedly proclaimed our desire for peace and the fact that we need peace.... However, we have no intention of allowing ourselves to be strangled to death for the sake of peace" (op. cit., vol 40, p 152). Lenin's requirement of struggling for universal peace firmly, with initiative and without compromise, while always concerned with the safety of the socialist fatherland and its defense capability determines to this day the essence of the approach of the USSR to major international problems.

The farther the heroic days and nights of the Great October Revolution go into the past, and as the various aspects of social and political life acquire a new specific meaning on a global scale, the more obvious and unquestionable becomes the fact that the Decree on Peace, as a combat party and state document of its time goes beyond it and develops as a kind of manifesto with a universal content. Actually, ignoring the historical circumstances of the first days of the revolution, what is the meaning of the ideas and suggestions it formulates? Briefly stated, it calls for attaining a higher, an essentially new level of international communication, a new standard of intergovernmental relations consistent with the levels reached in the development of human civilization.

Long before the October Revolution the founders of Marxism foresaw the need and inevitability of reaching this level. That is precisely what Marx had in mind when he expressed the wish that "the simple laws of morality and justice, which must guide individuals in their relationships become the supreme

laws governing relations among nations as well" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 16, p 11) in the "Constituent Manifesto of the International Association of Workers" of 1864.

Lenin's Decree on Peace made the content of this idea consistent with the age of the socialist revolution and earmarked its direction. The new age required an even closer link between the national and international tasks of the revolutionary movement. Problems of international relations gained an increasing significance. The urgency of their reorganization on a democratic basis was dictated by the specific nature of imperialism which was triggering the cataclysms of global wars. That was the reason for which the toiling masses were to play a growing role in resolving foreign policy problems. Lenin's Decree on Peace formulated the most important stipulation of the need for actively involving the people's masses in resolving international problems. "We cannot ignore governments...", he said. "However, we have no right whatever not to turn to the nations as well. Governments and nations differ everywhere, for which reason we must help the nations to intervene in problems of war and peace" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 16). The antiwar movement of today, which has gained an unparalleled scope and with which the nations are answering the war-mongering intrigues of militarism, is one more clear confirmation of the perspicacity of Lenin's thought.

For the first time in history the Decree on Peace approached radical problems of international relations from the positions of lofty humanism and concern for the peaceful future of all nations. The entire significance of this approach becomes particularly clear today. The existence of huge stockpiles of mass destruction weapons and the tendency demonstrated by aggressive imperialist circles to use them thoughtlessly threaten to undermine "the very conditions of existence of human society," the danger of which Lenin cautioned against (see op. cit., vol 36, p 396). However, problems of a global nature, which will largely determine the qualitative aspect of human life in the next decade are becoming increasingly urgent. However, they can be radically resolved only on the basis of the collective efforts of all nations under the conditions of peace.

In the currently developing circumstances the initiative of the USSR, which solemnly proclaimed its refusal to be the first to use nuclear weapons, is a clear example of loyalty to Lenin's behest, ideas and demands. Equally indicative of the moral and political aspect of imperialism is the demonstrative refusal of the U.S. and NATO leadership to follow this noble initiative.

Actually, it would be hardly possible to find a more convincing proof of the antihuman and man-hating nature of contemporary capitalism, which is concerned only with preserving its positions and profits at all cost, than the scornful attitude adopted by the representatives of monopoly capital regarding the lives of hundreds of millions of people and the fate of civilization itself. Through its reactionary political leaders the capitalist world is proving its limited way of thinking, criminal from the viewpoint of the future of mankind, and its inability to rise above its selfish interests.

Profits are their god and infinite adventurism is the only way of action they understand. Unable to rise to the level of the requirements of our age, capitalism is merely confirming its obsolescence and doom.

Imbued with the ideas of the Decree on Peace, the Leninist course of the Soviet Union, which acts from the positions of defending the very existence of mankind and the preservation and multiplication of the age-old conquests of the human mind, provides a solution to the current situation which is fraught with serious catastrophes. It is precisely the increased awareness of this fact that is the source of the high prestige enjoyed by Soviet foreign policy throughout the world and the gratitude of all peace-loving and progressive forces to the Soviet Union for its tireless struggle for safeguarding peace, preventing a nuclear war and putting an end to the ruinous arms race. Born on the day the Decree on Peace was passed, Soviet foreign policy is truly consistent with all the requirements of the contemporary stage in history and all criteria of intelligence, morality, decency and justice.

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'... RUSSIA WILL BE SOCIALIST;' ON THE OCCASION OF THE PUBLICATION OF VOL 12 OF LENIN'S BIOGRAPHIC CHRONICLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 82 pp 104-111

[Review by V. Fomichev of the book "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya Khronika, 1870-1924" [Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biographic Chronicle, 1870-1924]. Vol 12, Dec 1921-Jan 1924. Politizdat, Moscow, 1982, 733 pp with illustrations]

[Text] The publication of Vol 12 of V. I. Lenin's biographic chronicle completes this definitive work prepared by the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. It traces in the greatest detail all of Vladimir Il'ich's life and activities and his struggle for the creation of a militant Marxist party of the Russian proletariat, the victory of the socialist revolution in our country and the building of socialism.

The compilers of the biographic chronicle have included in this edition about 39,000 facts, including thousands of new and previously unknown ones, which allow us to see the life of the leader not only day after day but frequently hour by hour. This particularly applies to the volumes covering the Soviet period. This is the first time that such an all-embracing chronicle of Lenin's life and activities has appeared in literary Leninyana. A truly invaluable scientific work has been done, which has largely increased our knowledge on the immortal leader of the working people and enabled us to become more profoundly and thoroughly familiar with the unparalleled life of the greatest revolutionary and philosopher.

The 12th and final volume of the biographic chronicle covers the period from December 1921 to January 1924. It includes about 4,000 facts. Most of the documents have been selected from archive sources and in a number of cases many previously known facts are refined; about 500 documents are published for the first time (fully or partially). This mainly applies to notes, remarks, resolutions, notes written on documents, and so on.

The materials offer an exhaustive knowledge of Vladimir Il'ich's exceptionally comprehensive activities during the final years of his life, when his health had become thoroughly undermined as the result of incredibly intensive work in previous years. Because of illness he was unable to do steady work in his Kremlin office. He was granted leave, sometimes over long periods of time, in connection with his treatment. He spent a long time in Gorkiy and in the sovkhos near Kostino village. He rested in Korzinkino not far from

Moscow. However, even during that difficult period Vladimir Il'ich displayed inordinate willpower and continued to guide the party and the country with tremendous energy and exclusive insight.

The materials included in the volume reflect extensively Lenin's activities in the high party and state organs. Vladimir Il'ich thoroughly prepared most important meetings such as the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets (23-28 December 1921), the 11th RKP(b) Congress (27 March-2 April 1922) and the Fourth Comintern Congress (5 November-5 December 1922) at which he was the main speaker. Within that period he took part in five meetings of plenums and 19 sessions of the RKP(b) Central Committee Politburo, and chaired seven Sovnarkom and five Council of Labor and Defense meetings, participated in the meetings of different commissions and the work of many meetings and conferences, and held about 300 meetings with workers, peasants, party and soviet workers and members of different domestic and foreign organizations. Whenever his state of health allowed it, Lenin resumed his intensive work rhythm. Thus, within the short period from 2 October (when he resumed work in the Kremlin after a long interruption) to 16 December 1922 (when his illness returned) he chaired 32 meetings and conferences of the Politburo, Sovnarkom and labor and defense council and various commissions, saw 171 people (125 receptions), and wrote 224 business letters and notes (p XVIII). Whenever he happened to be outside of Moscow, for recreation or treatment, Vladimir Il'ich regularly received the minutes and other materials of the RKP(b) Central Committee and the Sovnarkom, which he always studied closely, making a number of corrections and additions, frequently so substantial that the documents had to be revised thoroughly. He also frequently saw leading party and state workers who came to see him bringing information or seeking advice. All most important party, state and economic problems were resolved at that time with Lenin's direct participation.

The new economic policy which was introduced in the country in accordance with the resolutions of the 10th party congress was beginning to yield its initial positive results. The situation of the working people was improving. The declassing process of the working class had come to an end, the workers were returning to their factories and plants, large-scale industry was becoming reanimated and trade between town and country was being organized. Addressing the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets with a report on "The Republic's Domestic and Foreign Policy" (accountability report of the All-Union Central Executive Committee and the Sovnarkom), Lenin said that "there is progress," and that "our path is the true one ... We have begun to follow it. Now, however, we must carefully weigh even the slightest of our steps and consider even our slightest errors, at which point we shall be successful in following this way" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Completed Collected Works], vol 44, p 311-312).

In assessing the results of the first year of the country's life under the conditions of the NEP as merely the initial steps taken in resolving the basic problems of the building of socialism, in the RKP(b) Central Committee accountability report to the 11th party congress (27 March 1922), Lenin faced the party and the people with a new task: to manage better, to control the production process better. "The retreat has ended," he said. "Now it is a

question of regrouping our forces. Such is the directive which must be issued by the congress..... We must prove in practical terms that we are working no worse than the capitalists" (op. cit., vol 45, p 92).

Vladimir Il'ich pointed out the need to work better and to convert from old to new work methods in many other speeches and letters, including his latest public address at the 20 November 1922 Moscow Soviet plenum. Lenin's speech was imbued with deep faith in the inexhaustible creative strength of the working class and the toiling peasantry; socialism, he emphasized, is no longer a matter of the distant future. We are "promoting it in daily life." The leader of the Russian proletariat expressed his firm conviction that however difficult or new the task of building a new society may be, "all of us together will resolve this problem at all cost, so that NEP Russia will turn into socialist Russia" (ibid., p 309).

A significant part of the facts included in the volume reflects the tireless daily attention which Lenin paid to the practical problems of building socialism and his concern for the development of all economic sectors.

Let us take as an example the establishment and development of the Donetsk coal basin. In his report to the 11th party congress Lenin described it as the center, as the true foundation of the country's entire economy. "There could not even be a question of any development of large-scale industry in Russia or any real building of socialism, which cannot be built other than through large-scale industry, unless we rebuild and raise the Donbass to the necessary level. The Central Committee has been seeing to it" (ibid., p 105). Lenin personally supervised the Donbass and frequently talked with V. Ya. Chubar, chairman of the Donbass Coal Industry Central Board; Vladimir Il'ich instructed that a letter be sent to V. Ya. Chubar, asking for a "prompt and brief answer to the following question: Could a small number of the largest and best operating mines in the Donbass be fully staffed with the necessary manpower and allocate to this effect a certain amount of gold (order drilling machines if needed, and so on);" Lenin instructed the republic's Gosplan (G. M. Krzhizhanovskiy) urgently to resolve the problem of financing the Donbass Coal Industry in order to ensure its normal operations; he sent a letter to the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade suggesting that catalogues issued by foreign firms supplying technical equipment for mines be procured for the Donbass.

Many other examples of Lenin's concern for the development of industry may be cited. He directed his attention to the construction of the Kashira and Volkhov electric power plants, the organization of the work of Gidrotorf and the situation at the Baku oil fields. He was profoundly interested in the condition of the plants and mines and Kyshtym and Ridder and the coal mines and lead plant in Ekibastuz. He held a meeting with A. Z. Gol'tsman, chief of Glavelektro and his deputy P. F. Lavrent'yev and with electrical engineer I. P. Zhukov, chairman of the board of the electrical engineering trust of low-tension appliances plant with whom he discussed the possibility of restoring and developing the electrical engineering industry. He was interested in the studies conducted at the Azov-Black Sea basin and the measures which had to be taken to rebuild the country's fishing economy. Lenin

followed closely the study of the possibilities of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly (KMA) and the formulation of measures for the development of this extremely rich iron ore deposit in the country (see pp 270, 329, 525, and others).

Many of the documents included in this volume reflect Vladimir Il'ich's concern for the upsurge of agriculture and meeting the needs of the toiling peasantry. For example, we see how closely he followed the preparations for the 1922 autumn sowing campaign. On 17 December 1921 Lenin signed a radio-gram addressed to the leading authorities of all guberniyas in the country confirming the need for the firm implementation of the order on the urgent cleaning of the spring seed grain to be transferred to guberniyas which had had a bad season, instructing that animal-drawn and automotive transportation be mobilized to deliver the clean grain to the railroad stations and ensure the proper allocation of seed to the population, holding strictly liable those guilty of waste, theft and improper storage of grain seed (see p 53). Lenin addressed a similar telegram on the need to mobilize all forces and energy to speed up the cleaning, transportation and shipment of the grain to a number of guberniyas on 17 January 1922. He was concerned with the sowing campaign as well, as confirmed by the document included in the collection: on 10 May 1922 he received from the Central Statistical Administration a survey showing the condition of the sowing and the crops by 15 April and a chart on the condition of the winter crops on 1 May. Among the many other problems of agricultural development his attention was drawn to the irrigation of the Muganskaya Steppe in Azerbaijan, the organization of cotton growing in the Transcaucasus, helping the Shatilov oats-growing trust in Tula Guberniya ("Gossemkul'tura") and the situation at the I. V. Michurin Nursery, the work of which he considered of tremendous governmental importance. His responsive attitude to the requests and needs of the peasants is confirmed by the following entry: on 26 December 1921, during the proceedings of the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, he attended a conference of nonparty delegates to the congress, carefully listened to their speeches, addressed them on three occasions, and said that anything discussed by the peasant delegates was being recorded in detail in order to know the needs and main concerns of the peasants.

The food situation in the country remained quite difficult and the consequences of the 1921 drought and hunger were severe. Under those circumstances, the most important task was to ensure the collection of the food tax. The reader will be interested in all of his telegrams, notes and instructions to departments and officials on the collection of the food tax and on increasing the country's food resources. On 11 May 1922 he attended a meeting of the Central Committee Politburo and submitted a motion "draft decree" calling upon the People's Commissariat of Food, People's Commissariat of Land, Central Statistical Administration and the agricultural sections of the Gosplan to submit to the Central Committee within a 4-day period data on the collection of the tax in kind in 1921-1922 and the anticipated 1922-1923 collection. Lenin closely followed the grain procurements in the autumn of 1922. In October he studied the reports submitted by the board of the Moscow Consumer Society entitled "Grain Procurements by 5 October 1922," and a "Reference for V. I. Lenin. Plan for September Procurements and Its Implementation, Submitted by Tsentrosoyuz." In connection with reports that the



grain arriving at the collecting stations was raw, on 6 November Vladimir Il'ich sent a letter to N. P. Bryukhanov, people's commissar of food supplies, with a request to report on the situation regarding the storing of the grain at procurement centers and the adoption of "suitable measures for the protection of the collected grains," asking him "personally to supervise this work throughout Russia."

One of the most important social tasks which faced the party during the beginning of the NEP was to organize contacts between town and country and to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the toiling peasantry. The solution of this problem greatly depended on the condition of commerce between town and country and the ability of party and soviet organs to organize it. Lenin called upon the communists and senior workers to learn how to trade, not to give themselves airs or to boast, but to learn the skill from the capitalists. He issued specific instructions on measures to develop trade and demanded information on its condition, particularly when it involved the countryside; in a 20 February 1922 letter to A. D. Tsyurupa, as in many other documents, Lenin substantiated the need to strengthen the ties between the State Bank and trade, and to renovate its trading department by appointing cadres with trade knowledge. "The crux of the matter is trade and its mastery by the Gosbank," Vladimir Il'ich emphasized.

The biographical chronicle shows the daily attention which Lenin paid to the organization of foreign trade. The reader will come across a number of records of talks with L. B. Krasin, people's commissar of foreign trade, which proved Vladimir Il'ich's personal involvement in speeding up one commercial deal or another. Thus, receiving a cable from L. B. Krasin from London on 19 December 1921 on the breach of the petroleum blockade and that France and other countries had repeatedly asked to purchase gasoline and kerosene, as well as his suggestions on the fastest possible shipment of petroleum products to Novorossiysk and Batum, Lenin instructed that the Main Fuel Administration be asked what has been and is being done on this matter, whether a form showing monthly reports on foreign trade in petroleum products had been drawn up and a request that such a form be sent to him (see p 56).

What excited Lenin most in this matter and which attracted a great deal of his close attention (as confirmed by many facts cited in the book), was the question of foreign trade monopoly. He considered the implementation of this principle the most important economic task of the socialist state, believing that planned control of imports and exports should contribute to the rebuilding and development of the national economy. The book contains the familiar fact that in the absence of Vladimir Il'ich, on 6 October 1922, the RKP(b) Central Committee plenum passed a decree which gave temporary permission which essentially meant the unhindered "import and export of individual categories of commodities or the free opening of some borders." Finding this out, Lenin wrote a letter to J. V. Stalin criticizing the RKP(b) Central Committee members for this decision and noting that it actually means a breakdown in foreign trade monopoly. He suggested that the definitive solution of the problem be postponed for two months until the next Central Committee plenum. The suggestion was adopted on 16 October after a poll taken by the Central Committee members. Following the discussion of the problem at the 18 December 1922 plenum, the inviolability of state monopoly of foreign trade was asserted on Lenin's suggestion.

Lenin extensively dealt with problems of national policy. He showed great interest in the condition and development of the national economy of the Soviet republics, met with their representatives and waged an irreconcilable struggle against any attempt at disturbing friendship among the peoples and against great-power chauvinism and local nationalism. Toward the end of 1921 the RKP(b) Central Committee sent Lenin a copy of a letter received from S. M. Kirov on the situation in the Northern Caucasus and the Transcaucasus, passages of which he underlined; on 12 January 1922 he studied the draft "Circular Letter of the RKP(b) Central Committee to the Communist Party of Turkestan," which defined the tasks of the party members in Turkestan in the field of national politics under the conditions of the NEP. The same day he asked S. I. Gusev, who was a member of the RKP(b) Central Committee Turkburo and who was leaving for Tashkent, to report to him on the local situation; on 11 August he met with S. A. Agamali Ogly, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Central Executive Committee.

Many of the facts contained in the volume indicate Lenin's role as the inspirer of the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Events are described, dates are named and the content of Leninist documents written during that period is presented in connection with the elaboration of the principles of the founding of the USSR. Thus, while in Gorkiy, Vladimir Il'ich closely studied the draft submitted by the commission of the Central Committee Organizational Bureau, headed by J. V. Stalin and firmly rejected the idea of "autonomizing," according to which the Ukraine, Belorussia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia would join the RSFSR with the rights of autonomous republics. Lenin suggested an essentially different organization of a single union of states--a voluntary unification of independent republics, including the Russian Federation, within the USSR, with each one of them preserving its full equality. The 6 October Central Committee plenum, which Vladimir Il'ich was unable to attend, adopted a resolution based on his suggestion on the founding of the USSR on the basis of the voluntary unification of equal and independent Soviet republics and instructed the commission to draft the law on founding the USSR, to be submitted to a congress of soviets. As we know, on 30 December 1922 the First All-Union Congress of Soviets adopted the Declaration and the Union Treaty on Founding the USSR. During the second session of the USSR Central Executive Committee a Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union was created, with Lenin as its chairman. The founding of the USSR, the 60th anniversary of which is celebrated this year, was the triumph of the ideas of Leninism and Leninist national policy.

The new important tasks which faced the country urgently required that the work standard of the party organizations and the struggle for the purity of party ranks, the preservation of its unity and improvements in its ideological and educational work be upgraded. Naturally, Lenin was always concerned with party life and improved activities. He frequently discussed such matters with Central Committee personnel. He was interested in the forms of sponsorship of the countryside by urban party organizations, repeatedly spoke on interparty problems and talked with members of many local party organizations. On the eve of the 11th RKP(b) Congress he submitted his remarks to the theses "On the Party's Consolidation and New Tasks," and submitted a

motion on the need to extend the length of the candidate stage of new party members and to differentiate it in accordance with class affiliation, so that the candidate period becomes "a most serious test rather than a bare formality." Based on the need to prevent possible splits within the party and to improve the upbringing of new leading cadres raised among the working people, on the eve of the 12th RKP(b) Congress, in his "Letter to the Congress," which he dictated between 23 and 26 December 1922, Lenin suggested that the number of Central Committee members be raised to several dozen and even hundred, consisting primarily of leading workers and toiling peasants. He believed that this measure would enhance the prestige and role of the Central Committee as a collective leading organ, would give it stability and would contribute to improvements in the party apparatus.

The measures earmarked to strengthen the RKP(b) membership and to improve the work of its leading organs confirmed the constant attention which Lenin paid to upgrading the party's role as the leading force in Soviet society, the leader of the people's masses and the inspirer of the working people in resolving the great and complex problems of the building of socialism.

Because of ill health Lenin was unable to take daily and direct participation in the struggle against Trotsky and his supporters, who had imposed upon the party a discussion on some basic problems of party policy in the autumn of 1923 and who were trying to strike at its unity by demanding, ignoring the resolutions of the 10th RKP(b) Congress, freedom for the different factions and groups. However, he followed the course of the discussion quite closely. The volume includes an interesting entry on this subject: "Not before 7 November-December. Lenin, skimming the press, asked N. K. Krupskaya to read to him the basic documents on the course of the discussion on party construction, imposed upon the party by Trotsky and his supporters" (p 643). We know that in the course of the discussion the Trotskyites suffered a crushing defeat and that all largest party organizations in the country expressed their total confidence in the political line of the RKP(b) Central Committee and in the Leninist principles of party and state construction.

Under circumstances marked by the aggravation of the interparty situation, the party's struggle against bourgeois ideology, the ideological-theoretical training of cadres and the raising of the toiling masses in the spirit of a Marxist-Leninist outlook assumed most important significance. The publication of the first edition of V. I. Lenin's works, which had been undertaken since 1920, was of great importance in this respect. Reports on the publication of the individual volumes of the edition are found in this volume (see pp 452, 607 and others). Also included is information on the preparation, following Lenin's instructions, and the publication of the book by K. Marx and F. Engels "Letters. Theory and Politics in the Correspondence Between Marx and Engels" (see pp 271, 405).

The article "On the Significance of Militant Materialism," which was published in the journal POD ZNAMENEM MARKSIZMA, in its March 1922 issue, made a considerable contribution to the party's ideological life. It defined the most important directions of party work on the philosophical front. It emphasized the role of science and scientific achievements in the development

and enrichment of the Marxist outlook and earmarked the tasks and methods of atheistic propaganda. The article heavily concentrated on problems of party-mindedness in philosophy, the use of the cultural legacy and the need for systematic and irreconcilable struggle against all kinds of idealistic currents (see p 233).

Throughout this time Lenin kept track of the work of the Soviet press as well. For example, he congratulated the newspaper BEDNOTA on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of its founding, pointing out that the newspaper "had worked honorably and successfully in serving the interests of the toiling peasantry" (op. cit., vol 45, p 58). He wrote the article "On the 10th Anniversary of the Founding of PRAVDA," showing his intolerance of the ideological oddities allowed by the newspaper. Thus, he drew the attention of V. F. Pletnev, chairman of the Proletkul't Central Committee, to his article published in PRAVDA, noting his confused and erroneous views on matters of proletarian culture. He wrote a note to the PRAVDA editor, sternly admonishing him for publishing such a faulty article.

Lenin paid constant attention to the problems of socialist construction facing the country, which demanded major improvements in the workstyle and methods of state and economic organs and their apparatus. In his 24 January 1922 letter to A. D. Tsyurupa, chairman of the Sovnarkom and the Labor and Defense Council, Vladimir Il'ich emphasized that the main shortcoming in the work of the superior Soviet organs is the lack of control of implementation and that the main attention should be focused on the struggle against bureaucratism and red tape and on investigating the practical work of departments and officials; he suggested that the Sovnarkom and the Labor and Defense Council be relieved from the solution of petty problems and that the number of existing commissions be reduced. On 11 April he wrote a draft "Decree on the Work of the Deputies (the Deputies of the Chairman of the Sovnarkom and the Labor and Defense Council)," in which he stipulated that "their main work ... is to supervise the factual implementation of decrees and laws, reducing the personnel of soviet institutions, supervising the order and simplification of paperwork, and struggle against bureaucratism and red tape" (p 280). In his 15 May letter to V. A. Smol'yaninov, Lenin emphasized that the decrees of the government must be supervised with a "most pedantic accuracy," suggesting that individuals in charge of supervising execution be appointed at the people's commissariats and other institutions.

The active guiding role which Lenin played in formulating problems of the foreign policy of the Soviet state and in the diplomatic activities of those days have been reflected in hundreds of facts included in the 12th volume. His entire attention was focused on consolidating the peaceful breathing spell which had developed, organizing stable economic and political relations with all states and strengthening peace on earth.

In an effort to facilitate the establishment of economic relations with the capitalist countries, in the autumn of 1921 the Soviet government proclaimed its readiness to acknowledge under certain conditions the prewar debts incurred by the czarist government and suggested that an international conference be held to consider the claims which foreign countries had against

Russia and Soviet claims toward them, and which would formulate conditions for peace between Russia and its opponents. The powers of the Entente decided on holding such a conference in Genoa. The Soviet government agreed to participate.

Lenin took most active part in the preparations for the Genoa conference, which was held in April-May 1922 and, during the conference itself, closely followed its development on which he received regular reports. By decree of the extraordinary session of the All-Union Central Executive Committee, Ninth Convocation, on 27 January 1922 he was appointed chairman of the Soviet delegation to the Genoa conference. On 25 March, however, overburdened by governmental affairs and because of poor health, he requested that his rights be transferred to the deputy chairman of the delegation G. V. Chicherin, people's commissar of foreign affairs. The volume shows that on 1 February Lenin wrote his "Draft Directive to the Deputy Chairman and to All Members of the Genoa Delegation," suggesting that it be approved by the Politburo; on 6 February he wrote supplements to the directives of the RKP(b) Central Committee to the Soviet delegation to the Genoa conference; on 24 February he wrote a draft Central Committee decree on the tasks of the Soviet delegation in Genoa. On 14 March he started the program submitted by G. V. Chicherin regarding the actions of the Soviet delegation to Genoa, drafted in accordance with the RKP(b) Central Committee directives. He approved it, suggested a number of additions and emphasized that the entire skill was to formulate loudly and clearly political suggestions along with our "commerce suggestions." "If we are prevented from doing so publicly, we shall print it with a protest," he pointed out, stating that "with such tactics we would win even should Genoa fail" (p 236).

In undertaking talks with the capitalist countries and acknowledging the inevitable need for sensible compromise, Lenin also firmly opposed any suggestions of concessions on matters of principle. The following fact is typical: having studied the recommendations issued by G. V. Chicherin and L. B. Krasin on avoiding any kind of action which could create complications at the conference, Vladimir Il'ich criticized this position, pointing out the need for a flexible policy and for the possibility and need of maneuvering while, at the same time, pointing out the duty of the delegates to stand their ground firmly, to reject ultimata and to refuse unprofitable deals. "A breakdown does not frighten us in the least: the next conference would be even better," he said. "We can no longer be frightened by isolation, blockade or intervention" (op. cit., vol 44, p 385).

No agreement was reached with the imperialists in Genoa and the conference failed. However, the very fact that Soviet Russia had participated in it, as well as the treaty which was signed at that time between the RSFSR and Germany on establishing diplomatic relations, which resolved a number of economic problems and reciprocal claims, meant that the land of the soviets had emerged in the world arena and that its voice could not be ignored in the solution of important international problems.

The Soviet government repeatedly proclaimed at that time the peaceful nature of its policy. This is confirmed by the great attention which Lenin paid

to the work of the International Peace Congress (mid-December 1922), convened by the International Union of Trade Unions under the pressure of the toiling masses. On 4 December Vladimir Il'ich wrote for the benefit of the commission of the RKP(b) Central Committee Politburo "Notes on the Tasks of Our Delegation in The Hague," which stipulated that "we must explain to the people the real situation of how closely kept is the secret of the outbreak of wars." He recommended to the delegates not to ignore statements "which contain monstrously wrong and monstrously light-handed matters regarding the struggle against war." He said that "we should not ignore even a single such case, for any light-handed attitude toward such a matter is the type of evil which is worse than all others and which it is absolutely impossible to tolerate" (op. cit., vol 45, pp 318, 321-322).

One of the most important political initiatives of the Soviet side at the Genoa conference was the suggestion which called for a universal reduction in armaments. Soviet Russia was ready, on its side, to reduce armaments under conditions of total and unconditional reciprocity and the creation of the necessary guarantees against any kind of attack or interference in its internal affairs. The desire of the Soviet state for peace and its readiness to reduce its armed forces are confirmed by a number of facts included in the chronicle. In answer to the question of the RKP(b) Central Committee Secretariat on whether or not to put on the discussion agenda of the Third Session of the All-Union Central Executive Committee, Ninth Convocation, the question of reducing the size of the Red Army, on 20 May 1922 Lenin dictated a letter to the Central Committee Secretariat suggesting that the question be included in the agenda of the All-Union Central Executive Committee, "proclaiming 25 percent reduction, motivated by the fact that although this may be a small and not particularly reliable step, it nevertheless was a contribution to the armistice achieved in Genoa" (p 341). On 13 November he submitted to the Politburo a motion on reducing the size of the Red Army by 200,000 men. At the first international disarmament conference held in Moscow in December 1922 the Soviet government once again proved its peacefulness by calling for reducing armed forces by 75 percent over a period of 18 to 24 months and curtailing military expenditures.

The materials in this volume properly show Lenin's participation in the work of the Communist International and his contribution to the development of the international workers movement. All such materials are focused on the preparations for and holding of the Fourth Comintern Congress, which was held in November-December 1922. At the 19 September meeting of the Comintern Executive Committee Presidium, Vladimir Il'ich was approved as the main speaker; on 3 November he held a conference with the bureau of the RKP(b) delegation. At the 13 November congress session Lenin submitted his report (in German) "Five Years of Russian Revolution and Prospects for a Global Revolution." The report summed up the results of 5 years of development of the socialist revolution in Russia, substantiated the need for the new economic policy, proved its successes, defined the tasks of the building of socialism in our country and emphasized the need creatively to adopt the experience of the bolshevik party and the lessons of our revolution. The report was the main event of the congress.

Repeatedly, particularly in connection with the Fourth Comintern Congress, Vladimir Il'ich met with leaders of foreign communist parties and progressive worker organizations. He talked with Klara Zetkin, Antonio Gramsci and Bela Kuhn and received representatives of the communist parties of France, Italy, England, Germany, the United States, Australia, and other countries, who had come to Moscow. These talks dealt with organizing the work of the fraternal parties, their tactics and their struggle against imperialism.

At the end of 1922 and the beginning of 1923 our party was preparing to hold its 12th congress. Lenin, who was in Gorkiy, received information on the course of the preparations. On 11 January 1923 he was approved as the speaker who was to submit the Central Committee political report to the 12th party congress. However, Vladimir Il'ich was unable to attend the congress itself, which was held between 17 and 25 April 1923, for in December 1922 his illness worsened.

Well aware of its dangerous nature, Lenin decided to dictate a number of notes and to express thoughts and considerations he considered "most important." He began to dictate the materials which have entered the history of our party under the title "V. I. Lenin's Last Letters and Articles," on 23 December 1922, ending on 2 March 1923. Within that time he dictated the "Letter to the Congress," the letters "On Granting the Gosplan Legislative Functions" and "On the Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomizing'," and the articles "Pages from the Diary," "On Cooperation," "On Our Revolution," "How to Reorganize the Rabkrin," and "Better Less But Better."

Lenin's work on his final letters and articles is described in great detail, with extensive use of memoirs and, frequently, archive sources (see pp 546-589) in the 12th volume. Thus, on 23 December he asked his treating physician A. M. Kozhevnikov to allow him 5 minutes of shorthand dictation to his secretary, for "he was troubled by a matter," and then asked for permission to dictate daily. After consulting with the physicians, the Central Committee Politburo allowed him to dictate daily for 5-10 minutes and, subsequently, extended the period to 20-30 minutes daily. Vladimir Il'ich usually looked at the dictated text, which he edited and amended.

The preface to the volume discusses the content of Lenin's final letters and articles. Their main feature was the question of the destinies of socialism in the USSR and of the ways to build it. Vladimir Il'ich's conclusion to the effect that we have everything necessary to build a full socialist society and his conviction that "we can, figuratively speaking, switch horses, namely switch from the peasant, the muzhik, the impoverished horse ... to a horse which the proletariat demands and cannot but demand, the horse of large-scale machine industry, electrification, Volkhovstroy and others" (op. cit., vol 45, p 405), defined the general party line leading to the victory of socialism in the USSR many years in advance. The creation of these theoretically and politically outstanding works was a true Leninist exploit, an expression of his profound awareness of his duty to the future of our homeland.

The final part of the volume deals with facts related to Lenin's life in 1923. He was moved to Gorkiy on 15 May. Starting with the second half of July he began to take short walks in the park and the garden and to work in the library room. He asked for the latest books and read newspapers and journals daily. Toward the middle of August his state of health improved to such an extent that he was no longer under the constant supervision of physicians. Nurse care was eliminated in September.

Vladimir Il'ich arrived for the last time in Moscow on 18 October 1923. He was in his private office. On 19 October he took a walk along the Kremlin, drove around the city and returned to Gorkiy. On 2 November he received a delegation of workers from the Glukhovskaya Manufaktura. Lenin was interested in party documents: on 5 January 1924 he studied the shorthand report and resolutions of the 12th party congress and made annotations to them; on 19-20 January N. P. Krupskaya read to him the resolution of the 13th RKP(b) Congress. On 20 January he felt unwell, did not have lunch nor take a walk. On 21 January, at 4 pm, at 4:45 and at 5:15 he was examined by Professors O. R. Ferster and V. P. Osipov. Lenin's health showed a drastic and sudden worsening at 5:30 pm. Vladimir Il'ich died at 6:50 pm.

On 22 January the RKP(b) Central Committee adopted the appeal "To the Party. To All Working People." "Never since Marx's death," the appeal read, "has the history of the great liberation movement of the proletariat raised such a gigantic figure as our deceased leader, teacher and friend;" at 4 pm PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA came out with their special funeral editions.

The sad news of Lenin's death rocked the country. Funeral meetings were held everywhere, at which workers, peasants, Red Army men, all working people of the Soviet Union, proclaimed their boundless loyalty to Lenin's cause and their even greater unity with the communist party; thousands of workers submitted petitions for RKP(b) membership. Funeral meetings, assemblies and demonstrations in Lenin's memory were held in the cities and industrial centers of Austria, England, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Poland, the United States, Finland, France, Czechoslovakia and other countries. The broad strata of the peoples of Afghanistan, India, Indochina, Indonesia, Iran, China, Korea and Turkey, the Arab countries and the countries in Latin America expressed their sorrow at Lenin's death.

The final pages in the volume reflect the memorable events of those last 7 days: the parting with Lenin in Gorkiy, the moving of the body of the deceased to Moscow, the parting of thousands and thousands of working people with their leader in the Hall of Columns of the Palace of Unions, and the burial on Red Square on 27 January at 4 pm. All movement throughout the country stopped for 5 minutes; military salutes were fired and the sirens of factories, plants, locomotives and ships were blasted. The coffin with Lenin's body was moved to the temporary mausoleum. The unique life of the founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state and the great leader of the working people had ended.

The materials in the biographic chronicle cover in the greatest possible detail Lenin's life and activities and his struggle for the creation and



consolidation of the communist party and the Soviet state and for building socialism in our country. They prove how far into the future the leader looked. History confirmed that the development of the land of the soviets and the entire global development today is as Vladimir Il'ich predicted. Our people, having built socialism under the banner of Leninism, and successfully resolving the problems related to building a communist society, is in the vanguard of all progressive mankind. Lenin's immortal doctrine, to the creative development of which the CPSU is making an invaluable contribution, today inspires millions of people throughout the world in their struggle for social progress, peace, democracy and socialism. "Leninism," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "is the most progressive and influential ideology in the contemporary world, the invincible ideology of those to whom the future belongs."

Lenin's name and cause will live forever!

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## REAL SOCIALISM: TOPICAL THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

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[Review by V. Kas'yanenko, editor in chief of VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, organ of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, of the book "Teoriya i Praktika Real'nogo Sotsializma" [Theory and Practice of Real Socialism], by A. Lilov. Progress, Moscow, 1982, 280 pp]

[Text] Today socialism is not only a science but a social practice which exemplifies the successful solution of age-old economic, political, social and spiritual problems in the interest of the working people, and which inspires millions of people in the struggle for the triumph of its ideals. The system established in the USSR and the other socialist countries is real socialism, which has become a decisive factor in the progress of mankind.

Problems of the theory and practice of real socialism are invariably considered by the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties. The concept of the developed socialist society, formulated through the collective efforts of the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties of the members of the socialist comity, is a major contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

Based on the achievements and advantages of real socialism, the fraternal parties set their accurate and clear course of action for the immediate and more distant future, concretize the ways and means of meeting their programmatic objectives and scientifically sum up acquired practical experience.

The successes of real socialism confirm the profound justice of Marxism-Leninism and prove the viability and advantages of the new system, its prospects and its increasing influence on global processes. "There is no country or group of countries or ideological or political current which has not experienced to one degree or another the influence of socialism," comrade L. I. Brzhnev noted at the 26th CPSU Congress. "Such is the reality of the end of the 20th century. The birth of a new life is difficult. The path of social progress is difficult and sometimes painful, but this is what makes the achievements of the socialist society the more significant and outstanding and the exploits of its builders and defenders the more grandiose."

The Bulgarian Communist Party, one of whose leaders is Aleksandur Lilov -- the author of a number of works on topical problems of the theory and practice of real socialism, is making its contribution to the theoretical

summation of the practice of socialist construction. This is confirmed by his latest book, which is the result of long years of creative efforts.

The author explains his study of the problems with the help of two most important circumstances. The first is related to the need to develop socialist society itself. Real socialism is a young sociopolitical system in a state of constant motion and dynamics, development and advancement. This movement is not straight. It is complex and difficult and, as any other development, conflicting, taking place not under laboratory conditions but in the real world, under real circumstances and under specific historical, national, international and other conditions. That is precisely why real socialism needs profound Marxist-Leninist dialectical study and the further development of its theory and practice rather than metaphysical and dogmatic interpretations (see p 6).

The second circumstance which calls for paying constant attention to the problems of socialist construction is due to the attempts on the part of capitalist ideologues, opportunists and revisionists, which have intensified lately, to compromise real socialism as the main accomplishment of the international communist and entire revolutionary liberation movement and as the practical embodiment of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central committee general secretary, pointed out at the 12th BCP Congress that real socialism is convincingly proving "its advantages on Bulgarian soil as well." The theoretical study and propaganda of the historical advantages and gains of real socialism, the author states, are the prime duties of every party member and each Marxist-Leninist party.

By disseminating the advantages of the new social system the communists counter the bourgeois and opportunistic fabrications concerning the truth about socialism without concealing the difficulties and contradictions in its development, which must be surmounted if there is to be progress.

The author realistically interprets the complex problems governing the building of the new society facing the communist parties today. At the same time he describes the achievements and prospects of socialism with publicistic enthusiasm. The author successfully resolves the theoretical and political problems that appear from the positions of a Marxist scientist, party worker, publicist and propagandist.

The first key chapter discusses the dialectics of interaction between Marxist-Leninist theory and the policy of the communist parties. The author emphasizes that the party's activities are based on a theory which combines science with revolutionism. The combination of the scientific interpretation of the world with the struggle for its revolutionary reorganization is unquestionably determined by the nature of Marxist-Leninist theory itself. The book also describes the role of politics and the importance of social practice in the dialectical relationship between theory and politics. "On the one hand," he reminds us, "theory offers politics a field of action. On the other, theory cannot conquer the masses and become a material force without political struggle, and the theoretical concepts and ideas, however accurate they may be cannot be implemented while remaining intellectual

abstractions. In other words, while acknowledging the role and significance of theory we cannot underestimate or restrict the role of politics" (p 15).

The author's evaluation of the aspirations still found in some communist and worker parties to lock theory within "national frameworks" and to develop a special theory applicable to a single country, is quite relevant. A. Lilov considers such attempts above all as proof that a wrong way has been selected, for despite the fact that each party and people bring something original in the theory and practice of socialism, thus enriching and developing them, scientific socialism has been and will remain the single theory of the scientific interpretation and socialist reorganization of society.

In considering this problem against a broad historical background, the author recalls the struggle waged by K. Marx and F. Engels against opportunism in the labor movement, the tremendous theoretical preparations for the Great October Socialist Revolution, which was made by V. I. Lenin and his fellow workers in the course of an uncompromising struggle against nonbolshhevik and antibolshhevik currents of thought in the Russian social democratic movement, the basic stages in building a new society in the USSR, the importance of the experience of the CPSU to the BCP and the other fraternal parties and the instructive examples provided by the most recent history of Bulgaria which is currently building developed socialism.

A. Lilov adopts a principled position in opposing the attempts of the enemies of real socialism -- open and concealed behind socialist phraseology -- to "de-Leninize" Marxism and the workers movement by hiding behind false considerations regarding the strictly specific features of Lenin's doctrine and the "Russian" experience.

In the author's figurative expression, the attitude toward Leninism is "the testing stone" of the maturity of a communist party (see p 51). The entire content of the book, the description of the experience of the BCP in particular, irrefutably proves that the so-called "de-Leninizing" of the communist movement means, in the final account, the elimination of its revolutionism.

A. Lilov substantively exposes the popular method used by bourgeois, opportunistic and revisionist propaganda of trying to separate Leninism and bolshevism from science, and the October Revolution from the objective "logic" of historical development. Precisely indicating the roots and objectives of this distortion of the truth, he convincingly proves the manner in which the strictly scientific study of the objective march of history leads through Leninism to the elaboration of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary activities of the proletariat led by the communist party and the way the profound scientific analysis of social reality legitimately developed into a theory of the subjective factor and its role and significance in the victory of the socialist revolution and the building of the new society.

While supporting the dialectical unity between theory and politics, the author rejects both the dogmatic following of the letter of the theory and the blind reverence of politics and practice. He formulates the relevant caution of the danger of "belief in the omnipotence of politics and the conversion of theory into a servant of political interests and objectives"

(p 21). Recent experience proves that the neglect of theoretical and ideological principles and the adoption of practicalism and pragmatism may prove to be quite costly to one communist party or another and consequently to the labor movement and the building of socialism as a whole.

We know what an irreconcilable enemy of unprincipled pragmatism in politics Lenin, the greatest theoretical and practical worker of the socialist revolution, was. "The entire policy of the social democrats is to illuminate the path to be followed by the popular masses," he emphasized. "We lift our Marxist torch high and prove at every step taken by the individual classes and each political and economic event the life of our theory" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 13, pp 163-164). In this respect the consistent struggle Lenin waged against the scorn for general theoretical problems and arguments based on general practical considerations, revealed in the views of some delegates to the 5th (London) RSDWP Congress, is a very instructive lesson. While passionately criticizing such considerations as opportunistic, he proved that, in the final account, they lead to blindness and lesser practical results (see op. cit., vol 15, pp 314, 321 and 368).

Lenin's statements are exceptionally instructive. They clearly determine the role of the relationship between theory and practice of the masses and the activities of their communist vanguard. This entirely justifies the great attention which the author pays to the problems of the ideological tempering and education of the party members and all working people and to ideological work as part of the party's policy.

Starting with a philosophical study of the correlation between social life and social consciousness under the conditions of building socialism, the author logically moves on to practical problems of ideological work, such as criteria, means, forms and methods of upgrading its efficiency and ensuring further improvements in the comprehensive approach to ideological upbringing (see pp 213-234).

The final chapter entitled "Defending Peace and the Right to Life" discusses the tasks of the antiwar struggle under the conditions of a worsened international situation. As the author notes, a political study and assessment of the contemporary international situation were provided at the 26th CPSU and 12th BCP congresses and the congresses held by the other fraternal parties. Life has confirmed their validity. The task of the ideological workers is, on the one hand, accurately to interpret the nature of changes in international events and, on the other, to organize the efficient propaganda of our foreign policy and struggle for peace, detente and cooperation among nations.

Imperialism has mounted a massed propaganda campaign the purpose of which is to impose on public opinion a positive viewpoint. "We must," the author writes, "undertake now an extensive ideological work aimed at establishing the truth. We must tell the truth to the people of all countries on earth. Based on facts and the unequivocal admissions of Western leaders themselves we must expose the version that "the USSR is disturbing the balance, which is a propaganda cover for attempts by the ruling U. S. circles to secure for themselves unilateral military superiority" (p 258). This version stands on "feet of clay," and we must prove this with the proper arguments.

A. Lilov's book enriches science with its interesting views, and topical conclusions and concepts. As part of this review, it would be pertinent to recall that in his address at the meeting of representatives of communist and worker parties held to discuss the work of the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM in November 1981, the author called for upgrading the theoretical and political standards of the work done by the communists among the masses, justifiably emphasizing that real socialism as the greatest accomplishment of the international communist and worker movements remains the focal point of the ideological struggle.

A. Lilov's new work is a useful contribution to the development of the theory and practice of real socialism and the struggle waged by the peoples for peace and detente and against the arms race and the danger of universal annihilation. It represents a topical and original study, the scientific and practical significance of which will be unquestionably rated highly by the Soviet readers.

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## CULTURAL LEGACY AND ITS EFFECTIVE PERCEPTION

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[Review by V. Dement'yev of the book "Seyateli" [Sowers] by Yu. S. Melent'yev. Sovremennik, Moscow, 1982, 287 pp]

[Text] Culture, cultural values and cultural legacy are central categories which are becoming increasingly important and topical today. The interpretation of the artistic phenomena of the past, which have maintained their ideological and esthetic significance, presumes a deep penetration into the essence of the past. Relying on Lenin's concept of the cultural legacy, anyone dealing with such problems must always be able to see the main thing: the role of this legacy in shaping a comprehensively developed and harmonious individual with developed feelings of beauty, love for the socialist homeland and loyalty to the principles of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

The book "Seyateli" by Yu. S. Dement'yev is dedicated to the role of the artistic legacy in shaping the character of our contemporary and asserting the spiritual and moral values of mature socialism. In a militantly sharp, consistent and substantiated manner the author engages in a principled debate with bourgeois researchers who try to insinuate to the readers the thought that the first Russian revolutionaries were no more than blind followers of the Western European liberals.

The author deals with two basic concepts: that the fate of the contemporary world, civilization and culture is one of the most vital problems precisely today, for imperialist aggressiveness is increasing and the danger of a thermonuclear catastrophe is rising, which cannot fail to concern the simple people on earth as regards their future. How not to recall here Lenin's words to the effect that "The 'civilized' and 'cultured' capitalist world is advancing toward an unparalleled collapse which can and will inevitably destroy all foundations of cultural life" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 436). Referring to World War I, Lenin wrote that it "faced mankind with a dilemma: the loss of all culture or the death or revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist yoke, the overthrow of bourgeois rule and the gaining of socialism and durable peace" (op. cit., vol 35, p 169). How topical this Leninist statement appears today! The people of good will see in the Soviet peace initiatives and proposals an insurmountable

obstacle to nuclear war and a convincing proof of the humanism and peaceful nature of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

The author's second basic postulate stems from the first. It is that under the conditions of the intensifying crisis in the capitalist social system the ideologues of anticommunism and the creators of all kinds of sociocultural schools of thought and currents are becoming increasingly aggressive. What is inherent mainly in the Western "cultural experts" is the desire to "liberalize" the cultural legacy and to "perfect, renovate and rectify" it again in the spirit of that same ideological and psychological warfare they are waging on the USSR.

The author discusses at length the Decembrists and the first Russian socialists, such as Herzen, Ogarev and Chernyshevskiy. As a rule, he points out, the Decembrist movement was no simple conspiracy by some members of the military who dreamed of liberating the peasants and giving them land, without bloodshed if possible. The Decembrist movement was a "sociopolitical movement of revolutionary representatives of their class, who developed a broad conceptual foundation and a political, ethical and esthetic platform which greatly influenced not only the subsequent generation of revolutionaries but the entire development of Russian social thinking and culture" (p 13). The author expands the framework of the Decembrist movement, which he considers not merely a "purely" Russian phenomenon but, in a certain sense, part of the general revolutionary processes at the turn of the 19th century.

In discussing artistic literature, the author cites facts proving the most profound spiritual and emotional-moral influence which the Decembrists had on the outstanding Russian cultural leadership, Pushkin in particular. Finding himself in the Petropavlovsk fortress for the first time after the Decembrist uprising, together with his friend P. A. Vyazemskiy, in April 1828, the great poet long roamed along the ramparts, and saw the spot where on the night of 13 July 1826 the wooden scaffold was erected on which the five leaders of the Decembrists were executed, each one of whom Pushkin knew and loved. It was no accident that on the margin of the manuscript of the poem "Poltava" Pushkin sketched a gallows on the rampart's crenellation. It is precisely from these drawings that today we know the precise spot where the Decembrists were put to death. Today an obelisk showing the silhouettes of the five heroes who fell in the fierce and uneven battle against tzarism stands, marking the 150th anniversary of the Decembrists' uprising.

Another rather noteworthy fact today is the inauguration of the M. Yu. Lermontov Museum in Moscow. This museum, on Malaya Molchanovka, contains new historical-literary and archive materials and recreates the environment in which the ideological and esthetic views of the brilliant young poet took shape. "He is a full member of our generation," proudly said Alexander Herzen, speaking of Lermontov, in referring to those who were awakened by the Decembrist revolution, who thirsted for a new revolutionary tempest and who became its harbinger and poet. Once again the researcher draws attention to how frequently Lermontov's life became intertwined with that of his fellow-students at Moscow University -- Belinskiy, Stankevich, Herzen and Ogarev, and how warmly he felt toward the heroes of Senate Square. Equally interesting and important are details of Lermontov's biography, provided by



the author. As we know, the two brothers of Yelisaveta Alekseyevna Arsen'yeva, who had dedicated their lives to the education of their nephew, were not only ideological friends of the Decembrists but active members of the secret societies.

The next chapter offers an increasingly broad and extended view of the socioeconomic, political and artistic searches undertaken by the followers of the Decembrists -- Herzen, Belinskiy and Chernyshevskiy. Let us emphasize that the author conducts his gnosiological study of 19th century culture as a particular aspect of social consciousness and form of esthetic mastery of reality. Naturally, this not only does not reduce the significance of this culture today but gives it many topical and important emphases.

Herzen and Ogarev became part not only of Russia's spiritual and intellectual world but, as time proved, of the intellectual world of all of Europe, for it was precisely these two philosophers and revolutionaries who worthily represented the Russian people in the Western European revolutionary movement. Lenin's article "In Memory of Herzen" and his polemical arguments with those who were unwilling to see and admit that in the 1860s Herzen "fearlessly took the side of the revolutionary democracy against liberalism" and "raised the banner of the revolution" (op. cit., vol 21, p 261) provides the author with a firm methodological foundation for further research and for the struggle against those who are still trying to distort the true aspect of the creators of the Free Russian Press in London and the world-famous KOLOKOL. The scholastic way of thinking of many bourgeois specialists in the field of our 19th century culture and literature becomes clearer in the light of Lenin's article. With admirable persistence they keep repeating that the Decembrist movement was a specific Russian manifestation of Western European political liberalism and that Herzen was a writer who, spiritually and morally aged toward the end of his life, had reached the point at which his revolutionary thinking had "run aground in the tranquil sandy harbor of liberalism." Similar ideas are being suggested to his followers by american Professor V. Zenkovsky. The striking part of such concepts of bourgeois historiography and cultural studies, if one may describe them as such, applies less to the constancy of the basic conclusions than to the rejection of concepts such as "revolution," "revolutionism," and "revolutionaries," which is what "the young navigators in the storms of the future" were (Herzen).

The author proves quite convincingly that all attempts to distort and "adapt" the works of the outstanding revolutionary leaders of the past to the needs and requirements of bourgeois liberalism are doomed to failure. Particularly expressive in this sense is the struggle being waged today on the subject of Chernyshevskiy's creative legacy and the personality of this great revolutionary. Yu. S. Melent'yev gives an extract from the diary of the young Chernyshevskiy, which seems to predetermine his entire life and literary way: "Here is my way of thinking about Russia: Irrepressible expectation of an imminent revolution and eagerness for it..." It was in the light of this main and dominating idea that his socioeconomic, moral and esthetic views took shape, and not only did not lose their significance in terms of today's socialist culture and literature but, as in the past, represent "old but terrible weapons" against their enemies and open "detractors."

As the author proves, naturally it was Chernyshevskiy's consistent and militant materialism and combat-oriented democracy, inseparably related to the theory of the substantiation of a peasant revolution in our country, that was the linchpin which held together his extensive creative legacy. As in the preceding chapters, we see aspects of the life and work of this outstanding Russian writer, one of the first Russian socialists, from whose works, as Lenin said, "blows the spirit of the class struggle" (op. cit., vol 25, p 94). That is why, in discussing the remembrance of Chernyshevskiy by our contemporaries, the author most seriously emphasizes the ideological battle which is still being fought on the subject of the novel "What Is to Be Done?" The author writes that the new falanges of Western "Sovietologists" have hardly updated their theoretical arsenal. Instead, they have even intensified the propaganda of the Western way of life and the cold war spirit. This precisely applies to the notorious American "Sovietologist" J. Billington's work "The Ikon and the Axe," in which the description of the Russian revolutionary democrats is a frankly eclectic slop.

Yu. S. Melent'yev also discusses foreign researchers who are sincerely trying to reject "conventional" concepts regarding Chernyshevskiy, "opening to the Western readers a new name in 19th century Russian literature," and painting a more or less objective picture of the spiritual life of this great materialist and democrat. It is true that such efforts to approach our culture and literature objectively merely set off the myths regarding Chernyshevskiy, which dominate bourgeois literary studies and which are reduced to the sole wish to present him as the popularizer of vulgar materialistic theories borrowed from the West or as a ponderous writer of no interest to current audiences. That is what makes so relevant the argument cited by the author, which broke out in 1904 between Lenin and N. Valentinov, who criticized the novel "What Is to Be done?" As Valentinov himself subsequently recalled in his book "Vstrechi s Leninym" [Encounters With Lenin], Vladimir Il'ich told him at that time that "...To describe 'What Is to Be Done?' as primitive and untalented is inadmissible. Hundreds of people became revolutionaries under its influence. Could this had happened had Chernyshevskiy been an untalented and primitive writer? For example, he enthused both my brother and myself. He caused a deep upheaval in me." This novel also created a "deep upheaval" in other revolutionaries, such as G. Dimitrov, Zh. Gede, A. Bebel', V. Kolarov and K. Zetkin. That is precisely the reason for which Western European and American "experts" in the history of Russian culture are increasing their efforts comprehensively to belittle the intellectual and emotional impression which this novel, which is a criticism of the entire bourgeois system, makes on the readers and to assure the public and it is not worth reading, for Chernyshevskiy's legacy is unoriginal, worthless and second-rate. The author totally demolishes such efforts at "alienating" this great writer from out present. He passionately claims that Chernyshevskiy's spiritual legacy "belongs to all Soviet people, to all progressive mankind."

The book ends with the creative portraits of P. Neruda and A. Gidash. The author describes the process of spiritual shaping of these outstanding modern poets and the important role which the spiritual and moral power of Russian classical literature played in this process.

Yu. S. Melent'yev's militant and timely book proves that also as we follow the paths of the further advancement of the mature socialist society we must make active use of our ideological arsenal in the light of the Leninist general line in the field of culture, which is our most accurate and precise compass. The book proves that under the conditions of the aggravated confrontation with our ideological opponents all of us, the workers in culture in particular, must maintain a state of permanent combat readiness and always keep our ideological powder dry.

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## GRENADA: THE ROUTE TO REVOLUTION

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[Review by Doctor of Historical Sciences E. Nitoburg of the book "Grenada: The Route to Revolution" by W. R. Jacobs and I. Jacobs. Casa de las Americas, Havana, 1980, 157 pp]

[Text] At dawn on 13 March 1979 the population of the suburbs of Saint Georges, the capital of the young state of Grenada, was awakened by confusing gunfire. A group of young rebels were attacking the barracks where 300 troops were billeted. Some soldiers were captured while the rest fled. The rebels seized the stored arms and ammunition, captured the radio station and appealed to the people to support the outbreak of the revolution. During the next several hours the rebel detachments were reinforced by working and student youth, captured the residence of the prime minister, the telegraph station and other strategic objectives.

The winds of time which began blowing after WW II throughout the colonial world, and the victory of the socialist revolution in Cuba greatly assisted the Grenadan truly people's anti-imperialist revolution, "A big revolution in a small country," as Fidel Castro described it. Its history and initial successes are described in the monograph by W. and I. Jacobs, published by Casa de las Americas in Cuba. The former was a professor at the University of the West Indies between 1971 and 1979 and is currently Grenada's ambassador to the USSR. The latter is a high official in Grenada's government.

The book, which is essentially an initial attempt at a Marxist study of the central problems of the Grenadan revolution, was written on the basis of a broad range of sources. The authors have paid particular attention to the problems of the theory of the revolution from the viewpoint of specific Caribbean conditions. They repeatedly turn to the works of Lenin and Soviet researchers in the area of contemporary national liberation movement and critically assess the works of a number of bourgeois authors.

Grenada, which was discovered by Columbus, became a French colony in the mid-17th century and became a British colony since 1763, for 200 years. Only in 1958 was Great Britain finally forced to grant Grenada and several of its other largest possessions in the Caribbean somewhat limited autonomy and, as of 1967, the status of "state associated with Great Britain," with full sovereignty over domestic affairs.

Concentrating on the main aspects of Grenada's economic and political history between the 1950s and the 1970s, the authors prove that it remained an agrarian appendage to the mother country. Meanwhile, between 1946 and 1970 the size of the urban working class had grown by more than one half, while rural manpower had declined by 30 percent. The share of agriculture in Grenada's GNP declined from more than two fifths in 1946 to one third in 1971 although it continued to employ more than one third of the total labor force, or more than any other economic sector. The country exported nutmegs (the second largest exporter in the world after Indonesia), cocoa, bananas and other farm products.

Class polarization in Grenadan society noticeably accelerated during the postwar decades: On the one hand, the urban proletariat increased; on the other, the concentration of the wealth in the hands of the few augmented. In 1946 about one half of the cultivated land belonged to 103 big planters; in 1972 to no more than 50. The latter, however, invested capital in trade, tourism and public services, having strengthened their influence in the country's economic and political life.

Universal suffrage was introduced in the colony in 1951. However, until 1960 most members of the legislative assembly were appointed by the governor general. Even after Grenada gained its independence the preservation of the position of governor general and the senate appointed by him gave the local upper bourgeoisie a decisive influence on the nature of the political system and control of the government.

The bourgeois parties and the leaders of the trade unions affiliated with them were the main levers of the political mechanism which helped the colonial authorities and the local capitalists. Small trade unions had appeared in Grenada as early as the start of the 1930s, but the first big union -- that of physical and intellectual workers, headed by the activist Eric Gairy -- was organized not before 1950. The following spring, answering his appeal, a general strike broke out throughout the island following the refusal of the nutmeg and cocoa plantation owners to meet the demands of farmhands and tenants. The victory of the strikers tremendously enhanced the growth of Gairy's prestige and popularity. His National Party received two thirds of the vote in that same year's October elections. In 1953 the party was renamed the United Labor Party (ULP). Having pledged to improve the situation of the working people and to make Grenada autonomous and then independent, the ULP became an influential political force and won the 1954, 1961, 1967 and 1972 elections. Initially Gairy made advances to the working people. Gradually, however, having assumed control over the administrative machinery and the ULP, he began to cooperate with domestic and foreign capital. As prime minister, he unceremoniously dipped into the state treasury. Most of the ULP members of the Legislative Assembly and, subsequently, the parliament, were procapitalist. Not a single true representative of the working class could be found among them (see pp 144-146).

The National Party, which was in power in 1957-1960 and 1962-1967, was founded in the 1950s. Unlike the ULP, it supported almost openly the interests of the planters and the mercantile bourgeoisie. In practical terms no political differences existed between the two parties.

Meanwhile, a local intelligentsia had developed in Grenada during the postwar decades; the number of secondary school graduates had more than sextupled and that of university graduates had doubled. Organizations whose aim was not only to achieve independence but social change as well appeared among the progressive students and the radical intelligentsia. In the spring of 1972 some of them rallied in the JEWEL (Joint March for Well-Being, Education and Liberation) group, headed by Unison Whiteman and engaged in propaganda work among plantation workers and the peasants. In the autumn of 1972 another group of young revolutionaries, headed by Maurice Bishop, founded the "Movement for National Assemblies," whose objective as well was to change the political system and give the power to the people. In March 1973 the two groups merged into the New JEWEL Party.

In their study of the development of the objective and subjective factors of the revolutionary situation which was maturing in the country, and bearing in mind the still relatively low level of political maturity of the local working class, most of which consisted of the rural proletariat, the authors emphasize the important role of the middle classes in the fate of the Grenadan liberation movement, that of the young progressive intelligentsia in particular -- the vanguard of the revolutionary movement (see pp 33-35). Given the level of economic and political development, the key problem of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary forces, both during the preparations for the revolution and after its victory, was the establishment of a coalition of workers, peasants, the urban petite and middle bourgeoisie and the radical intelligentsia, i.e., all patriotic elements engaged in the struggle against imperialism, and the plantation and mercantile bourgeoisie in order to isolate the proimperialist bourgeois intelligentsia (see pp 37-38).

The rapid increase in the size of the urban working class and the young intelligentsia, added to the growing bankruptcy and discontent of the urban petite bourgeoisie and the peasantry, confirmed the existence of real prerequisites for the formulation of a program of progressive change. The solution which the New JEWEL offered to the crisis situation into which the policies of both bourgeois parties had led Grenada was that of a noncapitalist way of development. In particular, this included the demand for independence, general democratization of life in the country, a radical agrarian reform and creation of cooperative farms, bank nationalization, control over foreign trade and establishment of a state economic sector (see pp 78-79).

The government responded to the demands of the working people and the growth of the democratic opposition with intensified repressive measures. A "Mongoose" punitive detachment answerable to Gairy himself was established. New harsh legislation restricted civil rights and granted the police wide powers. The National Congress, which was established on the initiative of the New JEWEL in November 1973, numbering 10,000 people, accused the Gairy clique of numerous crimes and demanded its resignation in a unanimously adopted resolution. Violent popular upheavals, which turned into a general political strike, followed the beating and jailing of Bishop and five other New JEWEL leaders by the "Mongoose." Under those circumstances, London hastily "granted" Grenada independence, fearing the worst and in the hope of preserving its interests in the former colony by maintaining Gairy in power.

The red-yellow-green flag of sovereign Grenada with the nutmeg design flew over the residency of the prime minister in Saint Georges on 7 February 1974. However, the independence gained after 3 centuries of colonial oppression brought no radical change to the working people. The ruling clique mounted an offensive against their rights, starting with the persecution of the New JEWEL Party. The police crashed into private homes and used firearms against demonstrations. Opposition trade union leaders and political adversaries of the regime "vanished" under mysterious circumstances. In foreign policy, the government established friendly relations with the reactionary regimes of Chile, Haiti, South Korea and South Africa. The Gairy administration openly proclaimed its support of anticommunism and solidarity with the "Western democracies." Announcing that he had been "appointed by God to rule Grenada," Gairy sent to the churches the text of a prayer to be read, which triggered the indignation of the clergy and even the church leadership. Let us add to this the existence of mass unemployment: by the turn of the 1980s three quarters of the adult population were either totally or partially unemployed and only 50 percent of school graduates could find full employment (see pp 67, 84, 92 and 94).

The discontent which grew among the various population strata brought about the appearance of a National Alliance -- a coalition of three opposition parties which had garnered 48.5 percent of the vote and six out of the 15 parliamentary seats as a result of the 1976 elections. Three of them belonged to the New JEWEL, which now had a parliamentary rostrum. At the same time, the party engaged in active clandestine explanatory and organizational work among the masses and the armed forces. The overthrow of the dictatorial regime required the creation of armed rebel detachments which, supported by the people, could defeat the army, the "Mongoose" and the police. According to the authors, in creating such detachments the New JEWEL Party was guided by Lenin's concepts of the armed uprising, which it considered a form of art and for which it prepared itself consistently.

The right time came when Gairy set out to visit the United States on 12 March 1979. The party's leadership decided to launch the uprising. The rotten regime collapsed like a house of cards and by the evening of 13 March the power had been seized by the people. The old army and police were disbanded and a people's army and militia were established for the defense of the revolution. The revolutionary government headed by M. Bishop proceeded from the fact that the Grenadan revolution was in the anti-imperialist national democratic stage of development, and proclaimed a program of extensive democratic change with a view to surmounting economic backwardness, eliminating the dominance of foreign capital and improving the situation of the masses. It contemplated the solution of priority problems, such as the establishment of a democracy of a new type, which involved increasing the political rights of the working people and granting them for the first time socioeconomic rights; agrarian reform; organizing a state economic sector and freeing the economy from the sway of the foreign monopolies in foreign and domestic trade; eliminating illiteracy and upgrading the cultural standard of the popular masses; establishing strong relations with the progressive forces on earth and practicing a foreign policy of equality, sovereignty and peace.

Three years have passed since. The first was named by the Grenadans as "the year of liberation;" the second was "the year of education and production;" and the third, "the year of agriculture." Great changes took place in the country during that time. Democratic laws were passed on the trade unions, which now include not one third by nine tenths of all blue- and white-collar workers; more jobs were created than in the preceding 20 years, and the unemployment level declined by one half; mass organizations of women, youth and children were set up; women began to receive equal pay for equal work; for the first time the working people enjoy free medical care; illiteracy is being eliminated; construction of housing for low-paid Grenadans has been organized; prices of fuel, flour, rice and sugar have dropped; and a new democratic constitution is being drafted.

The revolutionary government expropriated the assets of Gairy and his accomplices and confiscated surplus land owned by foreign and local big landowners. It is trying to strengthen the foundations of the young state economic sector through the creation of agroindustrial enterprises and state farms (more than 30 have already been established), and to encourage the growth of agricultural production through farm cooperation and to ensure its production for the domestic market and ease the social problems of the countryside. The establishment of cooperatives of unemployed and poor urban residents to farm cleared government forest land was motivated by the same purpose. Agricultural schools have been founded for the members of the cooperatives and are being equipped with machinery and tools. All of this has increased farm exports and lowered to a minimum the country's foreign debt inherited from the old system. A National Import Administration and a National Bank of Commerce were established with a view to helping to reduce the domination of foreign monopolies over the country's economy. A modern fishing fleet is under construction as well as an international airport at Port Selaine, not far from Saint Georges, to encourage foreign tourism.

The government's economic course, consistent with Grenada's real possibilities, is noted by its thoughtful and planned approach to the solution of problems and calls for the participation of the private sector in the reconstruction process (petty trade continues to play an important role in the national economy). The enthusiasm with which thousands of working people are participating in voluntary collective work in repairing and building roads, bridges, schools and the airport proves the support of this course by the broad masses. Physicians, teachers and other much needed specialists, who had left the country, are coming back.

The revolutionary leadership considers Grenada a people's democratic state which represents the interests of the united workers and peasants. The New JEWEL Party, which has rallied within its ranks the progressive segment of the people and is guided by the ideas of scientific socialism, states that in 3 years of people's government the objective and subjective conditions in the country have reached a level of maturity which offers a real possibility of future socialist development. "Today," Bishop noted last spring, "Grenada is at the stage of anti-imperialist national democratic development and on the way to a socialist orientation."



The foreign policy of the revolutionary government is based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. Grenada has been recognized by most Latin American countries and many countries in Europe, Asia and Africa. It has joined the nonalignment movement. Cuba, the USSR and the other socialist countries are assisting the development of its economy and culture -- in construction, agriculture, fishing, health care and education. Grenada receives financial and technical assistance also from Mexico, Venezuela, Algeria, Lybia, Syria, Irak and Canada. On behalf of his government, Prime Minister Bishop called for converting the Caribbean into a zone of peace with the abolishment of all forms of colonialism and neocolonialism and foreign military bases, turning it into a nuclear-free zone.

The path toward a socialist orientation chosen by the Grenadan people gives no rest to international reaction. In order to destabilize the people's regime, the ruling U. S. circles have launched a real "crusade" against Grenada using a wide variety of pressure methods, ranging from diplomatic, economic and military-diplomatic blackmail to sabotage, subversion and terrorism. During the past 3 years the CIA has made five attempts on the lives of Bishop and other Grenadan leaders. Mercenaries are being trained in the United States for an invasion of Grenada, whose air space is frequently violated by spy planes and helicopters from American navy vessels cruising the Caribbean, while "unidentified" submarines sail in its territorial waters (see p 129). For the past several years Washington has conducted a massed radio and press anti-Grenadan propaganda campaign, persistently insinuating the idea that some kind of "red menace" is threatening the area.

Backed by the solidarity and support of the progressive forces of peace, the Grenadans are responding to imperialist blackmail and threats with increased revolutionary vigilance and combat readiness. Voluntary workers' detachments have been organized on the appeal of the government. The revolution is guarded by the National Revolutionary Army and the National Militia. The Grenadan revolution was made possible thanks to the overall successes of the global revolutionary process of which it is a part. Grenada has proved in practical terms that today, with the support of the liberated people, even the smallest of countries located in the vicinity of the citadels of contemporary imperialism can break the chains of imperialist and social oppression.

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FOREIGN EAST -- ECONOMICS, POLITICS, IDEOLOGY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 14, Sep 82 pp 120-123

[Review by A. Dzasokhov and V. Trofimov of the book "Zarubezhnyy Vostok i Sovremennost'". Osnovnyye Problemy i Tendentsii Razvitiya Stran Zarubezhnogo Vostoka" [The Foreign East and the Present. Fundamental Problems and Development Trends in Foreign Oriental Countries]. In three volumes. Edited by G. F. Kim (chairman), K. N. Brutents, O. K. Dreyer, A. S. Kaufman, M. S. Lazarev, A. I. Levkovskiy, V. F. Li, L. R. Polonskaya, Ye. M. Primakov, V. G. Rastyannikov, B. G. Sapozhnikov and N. A. Simoniya. Nauka, Moscow, vol 1, 1980, 533 pp; vol 2, 1980, 319 pp; vol 3, 1981, 528 pp]

[Text] The progress of foreign oriental countries has been marked by complex and dynamic processes, unexpected hitches, and tortuous events on their way to independence. During the new historical round, when the elimination of colonial empires had come to a factual end and the rule by "classical" colonizers and racists is coming to a close, these countries have had to face no lesser but occasionally even more difficult problems compared with the times of struggle for national independence. This applies to many features in the life of the young countries, extending to economics, politics and ideology. It was precisely they which were selected as the topic of a fundamental study undertaken by a large collective of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies.

The three-volume collective monograph was written on the basis of a profound theoretical study and summation of basic processes in the socioeconomic and political spheres of Eastern countries in the 1960s-1970s. On the basis of the latest Soviet and foreign oriental study data, its authors describe life in these countries in its entire variety and contradictoriness. They do not limit themselves to the simple presentation of factual data, events and phenomena, but consider them in their state of interaction, in accordance with domestic and foreign factors, the most important among which are the role and influence of world socialism. Both the general and specific trends which determine the nature and direction in the development of foreign oriental countries are manifested with particular clarity in the broad perspective of the struggle waged between the two systems, and the confrontation between the forces of reaction and progress internationally, regionally and on the level of the individual countries.

Naturally, priority was given to the study of the main problems of socioeconomic development. The profound analysis of society, characteristic of the overwhelming majority of foreign oriental countries, contributes to the clearer manifestation of the reasons for uneven social and economic processes and makes it possible to trace the inseparable link between the developing socioclass structure and the characteristics of the struggle between the dying and newly developing systems in this area.

The authors reach the conclusion that the uneven socioeconomic and industrial development of foreign oriental countries depends on their relations with the global capitalist economy (and consequently on the reaction to the latter's trade-economic, payment, monetary and other crises), and is directly related to the condition of contemporary international economic relations and to those of its mechanisms which serve the interests of the imperialist countries. Added to these and other factors are the methods of neocolonialism which, according to the authors, is a special form of expansion aimed at accelerating the "processes of organization of capitalist production relations for the sake of retaining them as part of the system of semicolonial exploitation..." (vol 3, p 298).

The all-round study of the socioeconomic development of oriental countries made it possible to determine not only the nature of the essential changes in the condition of production forces and their economic structure but convincingly to prove the inability to achieve true economic independence and radical changes through capitalism. Analysing the growing contradictions between local capital in a number of foreign oriental countries and foreign monopolies in the 1960s-1970s, the authors believe that the latter are "objectively a serious and sometimes even the main obstacle to the 'normal,' 'full,' and quick development of local capitalism," which "does not determine all basic laws governing the socioeconomic and political development of the transitional society, for it does not express the social nature of all or virtually all production organized in a capitalist way" (vol 1, pp 151, 165).

A socialist orientation opens real opportunities for change and accelerated social development on the basis of strengthened autonomy, economic independence on the path of social progress and the completion of the national democratic revolution. The development of this essentially important phenomenon in the life of the liberated countries is the subject of great attention in all three volumes.

The authors justifiably note that the inordinate widening of potential noncapitalist development and the movement toward a socialist future among the peoples of previously oppressed countries are determined to a decisive degree by a qualitatively new deployment of socioclass forces in the contemporary world. "The internal aspects of the social revolution in the mixed-system oriental countries are organically intertwined with international production relations and antagonistic class contradictions between socialism and imperialism. The nature of this international social antagonism is largely determined...by the scale of interaction between the national liberation and democratic forces and the global revolutionary movement" (vol 3, p 295). As the practice of national democratic revolutions convincingly proves, the working class in no single country can show real progress on the

path of social progress without a firm alliance with global socialism and the international revolutionary movement.

As one of the contemporary forms of noncapitalist development, a socialist orientation is a relatively new phenomenon. The theoretical assessment of its basic criteria was provided at the 26th CPSU Congress. The work under review is an attempt to interpret this process on the basis of specific historical data. Noteworthy in this respect is the effort of the authors to define the dynamics of basic contradictions in the development of countries with a socialist orientation, which can be conventionally subdivided into two groups: in the first the power is in the hands of national democratic forces, while the second are headed by vanguard revolutionary parties of the working people. The first must essentially resolve progressive problems of a general democratic nature. "In the other group the socioeconomic changes are already directly aimed against capitalist relations and the political system reflects the interests of the working people to a far greater and increasing extent" (vol 1, p 431).

The authors have been able to prove convincingly that in the struggle for strengthening national independence and social progress a broad political alliance among difference socioclass groups is being formed in the liberated countries, extending not only to the developing proletariat but to the bulk of the peasantry, the nonproletarian population, the new middle classes in town and country, the national intelligentsia and other progressive and patriotic elements. The social gap which separates the popular masses from the exploiting classes, the reactionary ruling elites and the oligarchies is deepening further and further. The authors note that in the course of the forthcoming decades of accelerated capitalist development in the liberated countries "the further increase in social polarization and the widening of the relative and absolute gap between the rich and exploiting upper crust and the exploited social bottoms will increase" (vol 3, p 514). This is a specific manifestation of the basic laws not only of initial capitalist accumulation but of the strategic task of imperialism -- to tie the liberated countries to the global capitalist system and to prevent their conversion to the path of noncapitalist development with a subsequent socialist future.

It is entirely obvious that the national liberation movements have so far abolished no more than the old colonial superstructure of the mother countries, while preserving in a somewhat modernized fashion relations of state-monopoly neocolonialist ownership. Their mechanism is extremely complex and frequently hidden from the outside. Its main area is production, withing which the activities of multinational corporations are increasing tempestuously. "It is precisely here that we find the main source of neocolonialist income -- the added value created through hired labor and the added product created by nonhired workers. After crossing the stage of alienation, these sources are added on the global capitalist market to the income from the mechanism of monopoly imperialist prices and the "invisible" results of foreign economic operations..."(vol 3, p 316).

The new forms of contradictions between the imperialist bourgeoisie of the former mother countries and the national bourgeoisie of the liberated countries have been thoroughly analyzed in the work under review.

The authors make a close study of the new forms of contradictions between the imperialist bourgeoisie of the former mother countries and the national bourgeoisie of the liberated countries.

The characteristic feature of these contradictions is that they are developing within the mixed shareholding companies, the creation of which has been substantially intensified in recent years, and which confirms the appearance of a certain integration trend. The national bourgeoisie is expressing increasing discontent with the restrictions imposed upon it by its Western partners in terms of exports, unfair division of profits and the course pursued by the Western monopolies of imposing on the liberated countries the technologically "dirtiest" types of industry. All of this is creating in the ranks of the relatively young national, particularly industrial, bourgeoisie in the liberated countries "the aspiration to assume predominant (monopoly) positions within the domestic production and marketing systems, as a result of which it contains a certain positive potential in the anti-imperialist struggle" (vol 3, p 328).

As a whole, the authors have been able to avoid the type of schematism and oversimplification still encountered in discussions on key problems of the theory and practice of the national democratic revolutionary struggle. On the contrary, justifiably condemning attempts at automatically imposing various "models" of Western European societies on the liberated countries, they try to bring to light the real correlation between general laws and the specific social battles being fought in Asia and Africa.

In pointing out the numerical predominance of classes and strata living under a precapitalist system and "deformed aspects" of loss of class and urbanization, the authors particularly single out the process of development of a proletarian cadre, the dynamics of its professional standards and the role of its class self-awareness. As early as the mid-1970s the factory and plant proletariat, i.e. the modern-type workers, related to the industrial system of productive forces, accounted for approximately from one quarter to one third of the entire hired labor force in Asian and African countries (see vol 1, p 351). It is precisely the factory-plant proletariat that is assuming the leading ranks among the fighters against capitalist and neocolonialist exploitation, formulating both purely economic and sociopolitical claims. Such claims include the guaranteed right to work, higher wages, a shorter work day, improved social security and insurance systems, vocational training, etc. "The demands of the proletariat in the Eastern countries are now including with increasing frequency calls for the nationalization of the most important economic and banking sectors, the reorganization of the taxation and social insurance systems, the participation of the working people in the management of industrial enterprises and sectors, radical improvements in the education and health care systems in the interest of the people's masses, etc." (vol 1, p 355). It is a highly noteworthy fact that requirements pertaining to the basic vital interests of the nonproletarian toiling masses and the broad masses of the peasantry are being included with increasing insistence in the general democratic program of the Asian and African proletariat.

The agrarian-peasant problem is one of the key features in the socioeconomic and political development of the liberated countries. In their study of this problem the authors have concentrated on the conflicting economic and social consequences of the "green revolution." On the one hand, while contributing to a certain upsurge in the new production forces of the postreform countryside, the "green revolution" (or rather its consequences) sharply intensifies socioclass polarization. The results of the "green revolution" strengthen the positions of the bourgeoisifying feudal-land owning elements and the kulaks while accelerating the processes of declassing the tremendous mass of actual producers, the rural poor. Correspondingly, it is in the agrarian sphere that a new type of hired farm worker develops.

The progressive representatives of the middle social classes, the progressive national intelligentsia above all, are playing an increasing role in the development of the new political awareness, new political culture and new value orientations in postcolonial society. The exceptionally complex evolution of the ideological situation in the Eastern countries is refracted in the activities of the latter.

The monograph deals extensively with problems of ideology and culture, the role of which has increased sharply in recent times in the sociopolitical life of Oriental countries. The aggravation of the ideological struggle, while reflecting the intensification of the class struggle in the world arena in the individual countries and the intensification of the social content of national liberation revolutions, is manifested in a variety of forms and assumes different natures, colorings and significance. It is natural that without a study of the basic trends in the development of social thinking no accurate assessment of the current situation in the Eastern countries would be possible and the prospects of their further development would remain unclear. The authors point out that the ideological situation in the 1960s-1970s is manifested both in the intensified ideological distinctions among different classes and social forces as well as the qualitatively new stage in the shaping of the progressive revolutionary thinking of the Oriental peoples, which is assuming an increasingly socialist coloring (see vol 3, p 7). However, the very process of dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism and the shaping of the ideology of the revolutionary democrats is a very complex one. The monograph is a rewarding attempt at defining the social trend of the concepts of noncapitalist development, which reflect mainly the interests of the peasantry and the urban middle classes and semiproletarian strata. This also confirms that an anticapitalist trend in social thinking also includes some conservative aspects of the social mentality of the petite bourgeoisie.

The authors seriously analyze the influence of religion on the nature and forms of the ideological and political struggle and on the fate of the various bourgeois and petit bourgeois concepts. This assumes particular importance today, in the light of the traditions, religious mainly, the study of which remains insufficient in our scientific publications. However, as the events at the turn of the 1980s clearly proved, they have had a tremendous impact on the life and destinies of many countries, Muslim above all. However, as the authors justifiably point out, the social and class content of Muslim political movements are quite heterogeneous. In some cases

Islam is used in the interest of the most conservative groups of the bourgeoisie, while in others, of the radical petit bourgeois strata. Quite frequently, Islam remains linked with the anti-imperialist aspirations of the popular masses.

Pitted against the broad front of democratic and progressive forces are internal and international reaction, the mercantile bourgeoisie, the reactionary bureaucracy and the military, the right-wing nationalists and extremists and the conservative clerical circles. In many Asian and African countries it is precisely these forces which remain in power because of the insufficient organization and political activeness of the masses. The reaction's arsenal contains a great variety of ruling methods, such as social reform and political demagoguery, naked terrorism directed against the leftist forces and flexible maneuvering. The right-wing forces frequently see as a solution to the growing domestic political crises "either a movement back to an alliance with the former colonizers on a neocolonialist basis or the instituting of a 'strong,' usually military system" (vol 1, p 342).

The profound study which the authors have made of the contemporary deployment of class forces in the Afro-Asian world indicates that, as a whole, "in most cases the exploiting classes are forced to retreat," for in many of the developing countries "the class hegemony of traditional exploiting groups is being lost" (vol 1, p 347). The broad popular masses of these countries have already started on their historic turn away from the past probourgeois understanding of social progress and toward "a growing understanding of the realities of the class struggle and the increasing opposition to all forms of exploitation" (vol 1, p 343).

Naturally, the work is not free from some omissions and gaps. Little attention has been paid to the problem of the interrelationship between the worker and peasant movements, the interaction among the main economic systems in the reproduction area and problems of the social mentality and political culture of the societies under study. One could hardly agree with the description of the ruling revolutionary democrats (particularly bearing in mind the intensive development of vanguard revolutionary parties of the working people) as being "essentially petit bourgeois" (see vol 1, p 432). It is true that in their study of the social structure of the socialist-oriented countries the authors pay attention to the multiple strata within the leftist current and the growing share of nonproletarian or semiproletarian toiling strata within it, and to the young detachments of the developing proletariat.

The authors' claim regarding the so-called "integrationist" trends in relations between the imperialist bourgeoisie of the West and the national bourgeoisie of the East is insufficiently differentiated. Such "integration" processes involve primarily the mercantile-feudal circles in a number of developing countries, something which, among others, leads to the appearance of "strongholds" of imperialism in Afro-Asian countries.

The solution of these and many other problems will require further extensive work on the part of the researchers, who have already been able to create a fundamental work based on a thorough and profound scientific study. The authors reach the logical conclusion of the inevitability of the growth of

international factors in the national liberation struggle and the energizing of the working class, peasantry, progressive intelligentsia and other forces. The monograph raises a most important problem related to the further rapprochement between socialist orientation and national democratic progress and the conversion of the vanguard parties of the working people to the positions of scientific socialism and the international anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle.

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## CYCLICAL AND STRUCTURAL CRISES IN CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM

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[Review by Professor G. Rudenko, doctor of economic sciences, of the book "Sovremennyy Kapitalizm: Ot Krizisa k Krizisu" [Contemporary Capitalism: From Crisis to Crisis] by S. M. Men'shikov. Mysl', Moscow, 1981, 240 pp (26th CPSU Congress: Problems of Theory and Practice)]

[Text] This book is part of the Mysl' Publishing House series "The 26th CPSU Congress: Problems of Theory and Practice." Its author has also written a number of creative studies on monopoly capital. Such works usually attract the attention not only of specialists but of broad reading circles as well.

It is no accident that the study of crisis processes which shake up the capitalist system has always played an important role in Marxist economic theory. K. Marx wrote in the preface to the first edition of "Das Kapital" that "...The final objective of my work is to discover the economic law of contemporary social dynamics..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, p 10). The cyclical and crisis nature of the effect of this law, as Marx proved, is an inseparable and essential characteristic of capitalism, which distinguishes it from all other socioeconomic systems. Crises are the synthesis and explosions of the sum total of economic and social capitalist contradictions which bring closer the ripening of conditions for a transition to a higher organization of society. That is why the analysis of cyclical processes goes beyond the range of study of the individual aspects and phenomena in capitalism: the dynamics of its economic system as a conflicting entity becomes the target of study.

The logical structure of the book under review is convincing. The analysis of crisis processes is preceded by a brief description of the specific historical circumstances of the existence of contemporary capitalism under the conditions of the interaction between the two global systems (Chapter 1). On this basis the author considers the specific nature of cycles and crises of the 1970s (Chapter 2). He then broadens the topic and considers the structural crises in contemporary capitalism (Chapter 3). The work ends with conclusions on the prospects facing the capitalist economy (Chapter 4).

Let us note the extensive amount of facts included in the book, which are of independent value in the study of cyclical processes.

The class nature of the cyclical development of capitalism has not changed throughout its entire history. Although in the course of the entire capitalist epoch there have been no two identical crises, despite such constant differences several clearly identifiable stages in their development have become apparent. In the 19th century all basic parameters of cycles and crises (periodicity, depth, duration, crisis resolving "mechanism," etc.) were identically based on the laws of free competition among relatively and generally equal capitalists. The development of monopolization increased the concentration of productive capital in their hands. Furthermore, bearing in mind the fact that productive capital is never used at full capacity, the possibility arose for a fast and intensive saturation of the solvent market, something which previously was unavailable. Already in prewar times the modification of the cycle as a result of such monopoly influence had already resulted in crises of unequalled length and severity. The domination of monopoly capital led the private enterprise system to the brink of collapse. It was the next stage in the history of crises that marked the beginning of a search for a solution to the existing situation. A trend of abandoning totally free enterprise and converting to government regulations in this area became the characteristic feature of the new stage in the cyclical dynamics of capitalism. As a result, contemporary cyclical development is taking place under the influence of two basic conflicting internal factors -- the monopolies and the state control of the capitalist economy, with their complex and conflicting influences on the dynamics of the entire cycle and its individual phases.

The author, who has paid great attention to these processes in his previous works, justifiably draws attention to the latest three crises of the past decade. He systematically describes the way the current stage of monopoly accumulations and state regulatory activities have affected them. On the basis of extensive factual data and summations he substantively singles out a number of specific features in the dynamics of cycles and crises in the 1970s. This includes the increased frequency of crises, the resumption of the synchronous nature of their dynamics in most imperialist countries, the first postwar physical decline in the volume of global trade, a drop in industrial output, greater compared with the crises during the previous decade, the combination of crisis with inflation (stagflation), the weak renovation of productive capital and many others.

The author exposes the comprehensive -- technical, economic and social -- limitations of the possibilities of state regulation of the capitalist economy. The amount of time needed for sending serious signals announcing the appearance of a crisis, the adoption of anticrisis measures by the government and the reaction of the private enterprise sector is such that the effect of state control measures begins to be felt after the crisis has reached its peak and when no measures are capable of stopping its development. As a rule, such measures are economically conflicting. "While creating improvements in some economic areas they worsen others" (p 51). On the social level, as a rule state efforts to stabilize the economy consist of social expenditures which trigger the increasing opposition of the working people.

The part on problems of inflation (pp 63-68) and the contemporary state mechanism for fighting it will be read with unquestionable interest. A meaningful and convincing description is supplied of the features of the historical process of conversion from gold to paper money, the structural elements of contemporary monetary systems and the mechanism governing the formation of the operating mass of the currency and of quasicurrency. The description of the contemporary role of paper money circulation is depicted on the basis of this premise.

According to the author the combination of a number of historically developed factors -- abandonment of the gold standard, regular increases in monopoly prices, the financing of measures to "control" the private enterprise economy and fabulous defense expenditures -- makes the inevitable foundation of the systematic and fast growth of prices in the imperialist countries.

The author's close attention paid to the credit-monetary sphere of today's capitalism is profoundly justified. It is in this area that one of the most important mechanisms of the contemporary domination by the bourgeois oligarchy and the contemporary labor exploitation system are formed. Thus, under the gold standard capitalism had no possibility whatever of financing the arms race at the present level.

Whereas cycles and crises are the law of the dynamics of the capitalist system, inherent in its entire history, structural crises developed as the product of its aging and as a manifestation of its growing breakdown. Some structural crises apply to the imperialist countries alone. Others are global, affecting the entire capitalist world. They are based on the international domination of financial capital.

In our view, the author justifiably includes among the structural crises of the imperialist countries the sharp decline in the pace of their economic development starting with the 1970s. The growth rates of the GNP in all of them with the exception of Japan dropped to 2.4-3 percent per year, compared with 3.2-5.7 percent between 1960 and 1973. The decline of growth rates in Japan was even sharper -- from 10.5 to 4.1 percent annually, i.e. by a 2.5 factor (see p 127). The time of the "Japanese," "West German" and other economic "miracles" became forever a thing of the past. The highest level of state economic control, reached in the 1970s, brought about the sharpest possible decline in development rates, which leads the author to the legitimate conclusion of the existence of a crisis in the system of state-monopoly regulation of the capitalist economy, manifested in the effort to eliminate crises and unemployment and, backed by decades of experience, proved its total inability to achieve its purpose.

In the realm of international economic relations, the 1970s will be recorded in the history of capitalism as a period during which the postwar strategy of liberalization of international trade was decisively replaced by one of open or concealed protectionism. Monopoly accumulations reached a level at which an increasing share of the national product is exported, i.e., needs foreign markets. Thus, industrial production in the developed capitalist countries averaged an annual increase of no more than 2.4 percent per year between 1973 and 1979, whereas exports averaged a 4.1 percent annual increase (see p 140).

The economic expansion of monopoly capital and political aggression supporting it are the companions of contemporary capitalist development.

The struggle waged by the peoples of the world for a new economic order and the elimination of all varieties of neocolonialism in international economic relations became some of the typical features of the past decade and may be described as an important structural crisis in the global imperialist economic system.

Throughout the 1970s the entire capitalist world found itself hindered not only by these but also by a number of other structural worldwide crises. Their origin, as we pointed out, is in the domination of monopoly capital. The most severe and incurable crisis in the monetary system and the raw material and ecological crises discussed in the book are the visible elements of capitalist degradation.

The final chapter in S. M. Men'shikov's book discusses the bourgeois and Marxist views on the prospects of the capitalist economy.

During the last decade the bourgeois ideologues launched an intensive review of existing economic regulatory theories and futurological research developed at a fast pace because of the intensification of the cyclical and the development of the structural crises.

In considering forecasts with which our readers are familiar, such as those of LINK, Meadows, the Club of Rome, V. Leontiev's more complex model of economic growth, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and others, the author notes individual differences among them and accurately indicates their basic common feature. The neglect of social contradictions converts the bourgeois growth models into mathematical forecasts of possible results of economic dynamics which exclude the main point -- its conflicting vital content.

"In all cases," the author concludes, "the preservation of the capitalist system means a growth in the disparities marking the development levels of the individual countries and their increasing differentiation and preservation of the huge army of the poor and the unemployed" (p 235).

Not all the views expressed in the book are noncontroversial. The complexity and multiple-factor dynamics of contemporary crisis processes exclude their simple narrow interpretation.

The author concludes that a new type of cyclical dynamics has appeared in which "cyclical crises occur each 8-10 years, characterized mainly by considerable declines in capital investments. Furthermore, each 4-5 years crises of overproduction of durable goods and housing appear.... Each 8-10 years they coincide with the cyclical crises which they intensify" (p 59).

The author displays the valuable tendency to keep in mind that the time is past when the dynamics of capital invested in industry (equipment mainly) was the absolute decisive factor in the dynamics of the overall social capital in bourgeois society, for which reason it was an imperative factor in the

periodicity of the cycles. Under contemporary conditions capital invested in industrial equipment, i.e., a relatively minor share of the overall social capital, cannot play its former role in the shaping of cyclical processes.

So far, such phenomena have been insufficiently studied. The author opens a path to the solution of such problems, which is a substantial merit of his work.

However, the claim that the objective law of 4-5-year intervals in the overproduction of durable goods and housing demands, in our view, further more extensive and systematic substantiation.

In the final chapter of the book, after considering the bourgeois forecasts on the development of the world economy and their weak aspects, the author discusses "Means to Overcome Economic and Structural Crises." In noting that the bourgeois theoreticians "have not found or proposed methods for substantially weakening periodical and structural crises without changing the foundations of the existing system" (p 236), the author describes the content of the programmatic requirements of the Western communist and worker parties which, within the framework of the antimonopoly struggle, suggest far-reaching measures related to restricting the omnipotence of the monopolies, such as the nationalization of leading sectors and enterprises, abolition of private control over command positions in the economy and the state, increasing working people's control over the largest enterprises in all sectors, introducing a system of nationwide planning, state guaranteed employment of any one able to work and systematic increases in the income of the working people (see pp 236-237). Let us emphasize that the solution of the basic problems of the capitalist economy cannot be achieved without abolishing the foundations of that system.

All in all, Izdatel'stvo Mysl' has published a valuable and necessary book which will encourage the readers to think and will contribute to the development of the Marxist science of economics.

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